National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 26. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1865. WHOLE NO. 1,326.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT $3.00 PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

5 South-Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

LETTERS should be addressed to *Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman st., New York.

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

SERMON BY REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

[We copy the following from the New York *Times*. The Sermon is given as corrected, in one most important part, by the author.]

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER gave an elaborate exposition of his views on the present political situation, at his church last night, an immense audience sitting packed compactly until nearly 10 o'clock. It had been intimated to Mr. Beecher that articles condemnatory of President Johnson and the policy of the Administration, which were attributed to him throughout the country, were doing damage to the cause he has at heart, and inasmuch as he did not write the articles, it was deemed proper that he should place himself right upon the record. How he did it the following sketch of the sermon plainly indicates.

Taking his text from the book of Samuel, where the Prophet narrates the retaking of the ark, and closes by saying, "Thus far the Lord hath led us," Mr. Beecher proceeded substantially as follows:

For twenty years the ark had been removed from Israel and was in captivity. It was then recovered with signal victory, and the Prophet Judge of Israel declared "thus far the Lord has helped us." It was a devout recognition of the dependence of the people upon the Lord and a suggestion that it would ever be well for them to lean upon the arm that had secured to them the victory. If ever a people had occasion to say this, this people has now. And this word Ebenezer is a hopeful view of the future as well as a recognition of God's hand in the past. It is the duty of Christian men above all others to consider this. Our difficulties are not over to be sure, but what are they in comparison with those of four years past, of three years, of two, of one? Hitherto our whole horizon has been thick with troubles, and there has been no statesman who could solve the questions in advance, although one by one they have been settled and passed behind us. And so for the future. We do not need a prophet's glass to sweep the whole horizon, but reverently to trust that He who has been our help in times gone by will be our deliverance in times to come. Despondency is ingratitude and hope is God's worship. We need also the corresponding duty of good will to men.

Nothing better than a generous and trustful spirit to those who have been in error can crown our victories. I have hitherto been persistent in exposing wrong, and I now desire to be early in extending the hand of fellowship. When the crime of slavery blotted our fair page, charity was a mistake and a witness against us in favor of slavery. Now things are changed; the cause of trouble is removed, and it has become our privilege and duty, as it is my pleasure, to plead for a large measure of good will and love towards all men. In the first place, we cannot expect those who have been struck by this insanity to get over in an hour their life-long prejudices and beliefs. And while we are calling them citizens and brothers we should remember that convalescence is sometimes longer in its run than the disease, and men who have been torn and despoiled by fierce, relentless war cannot, in a moment, change. Nor are we to expect them to give up their theories. Men at the North are disappointed because prominent men at the South are pardoned, when they do not give up their theory of secession. I should not respect them if they did. Let them accept the fact of Union from this time on, and they can have their theories. A man who too readily gives up his theories and doctrines cannot make a desirable citizen. I expect them to retain their theories, but to accept the facts.

Nor is it right to distrust their professions. It is said they will again get into power and then do as they please. How do you expect to prevent them? Somewhere men must be believed and trusted. What guarantees would you ask—how secure them? I think the utter destruction of slavery is the best guarantee. Why was the North valid and strong and healthful? Because she promoted freedom and the doctrines of liberty. Our theories were better, but perhaps not our practices—they were made to be what they are by false theories of political economy. Slavery, which is another name for a kingdom antagonistic to human rights, was the cause of our perpetual struggle with them. The necessity of their institutions collided with the necessities of our institutions. Now that slavery is destroyed, the cause of secession is destroyed. Once let these heathen laws be destroyed, and slavery taken away, and we want no guarantee. There will then be no cause for collision. I want guarantees of some sort, and the best I believe to be the effectual destruction of slavery.

It is said that the South should be humbled before it is received back. So far from that, I want to save the self-respect of the South; and he is the wisest statesman who can carry them through this trouble without loss of their self-respect. I would go backwards, and cover their nakedness, and let them come back to the full rights of manhood and citizenship. Oh, how they have suffered; peeled, scarred, wailing for them who have perished in the service of a cause which itself has perished. And do you say let them be still further humbled? Oh my brother you know not what manner of spirit is in you. I am very glad that the foremost of our anti-slavery men have been pleading for less rigor, and expressing a generous sympathy for their old time antagonists. Let the true men find the Southern heart, and let traitors be ignored by both parties. I was pained by the many criticisms I saw in the papers upon Gen. Lee, when he was made President of a Southern college. In an hour of great weakness he committed himself to the cause of rebellion. Since that time, however, he has acted as well became him; the fact granted that he conscientiously believed in the cause of the South, we must admit that he has conducted himself without unnecessary violence; and when he laid down his sword who could be more modest, more quiet, more honorable than he? And when he was called to the Presidency of the college, I was glad to see him take it. He needed to do something to support himself, and the criticisms made by our papers were as ungenerous as they were unfair. I believe that the young men who attend that institution will be well drilled in the main, and I am heartily glad he obtained the position. The two great questions now unfolding into practical politics are: First, the admission of Southern States to the participation of the administration of National Government; and second, the granting of the rights of the black man. It is best for us that restoration should at once commence. It is part of our belief that all men should partake actively in the administration of civil affairs. Some precedent qualifications should be made of course. The one prime cause of our difficulty should be done away with. States should be conditioned upon the restoration of slavery. Communities should not be permitted to take part in government until so conditioned that they cannot destroy it. They must swear never again to attempt to destroy us. They must not only declare their act of secession null and void, but *ab initio* false and heretical. They should also establish the rights of the freedman, to work when, where, and as much as he pleases; to be made the equal of all other men before a court and in the eye of the law. He should have the protection of the law, and have as ready access to the court as any other man. I hold also, that he should have had the suffrage, because it is a natural right. He has the right to make the laws which govern him, and to determine the magistracies under which he lives. He has a right to be a citizen, because he is a man. I think it would have saved the land trouble if these rights had been given to the freedmen. This does not make him a social equal.

Do you suppose that a newly-landed Irishman becomes my social equal? Do I rush into his arms at once and ask him to be my son-in-law? How absurd to say that because I claim these rights for the black man I therefore must like him. I confess I am so thoroughly under the influence of long-time prejudice, that I have never felt the slightest inclination to marry a black woman; nor do I think it well that any sort of intermarriage between blacks and whites should be permitted. But oh! these Southern men, how impudent is their talk about miscegenation. They are never opposed to practical miscegenation down there. Their blood is scattered all over their plantations. We hold that this should never be; but if it is to be, let it be under the law of wedlock. These things are simply preposterous and are not worth serious consideration. These things granted, all difficulty would be ended. Without them troubles will arise and they will mainly affect the South. These four million men are at the South, and if there are uprisings and difficulties they will be there, not here. I do not know what the President's mind is, if, indeed, he knows it himself. Much complaint has been made of his reticence, but I confess that I think his reticence admirable in one who has nothing to say. In his answer to South Carolina's delegation—South Carolina that before she was received again into the family sends her advice to Washington, and suggests to the President what he would better do, how refreshing) he (the President) said we must be practical in our efforts, and I think his course is eminently wise, and we have never had a man in the Presidential chair who has proven himself more wise in the solution of questions brought to him than President Johnson. I think his leaving of these questions to Congress eminently wise and much better than would be the Cæsarian practice of deciding for himself, and by himself alone. But in regard to criticism and advice, I don't think we are so very free from censure. When a black man can ride in the cars, can appear in court, can own property, can attain to the full stature of citizenship here, we may turn to the lecturing of our Southern brethren. I confess that if I want to advise them, I should speak very mildly, because if they should ask me in what State I was born I should be compelled with blushes to admit that it was the loyal State of Connecticut.

Let me express my gratitude to God that he had appointed without our forethought, and almost without our knowledge, a man singularly fitted to take up the work where his martyred predecessor left it. Thus far I cannot lay my hand upon an act which does not seem apt, fitting and most wise. With a clear eye, a skilful hand, he has gone on weaving most cleverly the robe which was to cover the entire brotherhood of the States of the Union. The extraordinary unanimity in the nation, in respect to him, is most gratifying. We who voted for him and made him our Vice-President, of course, are proud of him, but what most fills my heart with gratitude, and is my unqualified marvel and thanksgiving, is the complete conversion of our enemies who opposed him at the date of his election, with such virulence and spite. Let us, however, be charitable, let us hope and even pray that this sudden conversion may be genuine, and that they will never backslide. In regard to the President, our President, the country's President, I think he believes that all measures for the relief of the blacks, must have the cordial support and countenance of the South. We here cannot aid them; they are at arm's length, and it is not wise for the Central General Government to attempt to regulate their affairs. The laws and interests of the Government and of ourselves will prove of no avail if they are hostile and unpleasant to the freedmen of the South. Oaths and obligations won't help the matter, and if President Johnson is waiting for the adoption of these plans by the people of the South, he is acting with characteristic prudence and sagacity. A colored man's testimony is to be taken like any one else's for what it's worth; but let it be taken for just that. I thank God the President is a Southern man; he's just the man we want, if we are going to reconstruct. You can't manage hearts as you can bricks and mortar. No New-England man could do as well as Mr. Johnson, although he might know more. He is of the South, he knew them, and will, I know, do more for them than any one else. Now is the winning time; the time to make by affection on the whole. I believe in him.

I never was more surprised than at Mr. Blair's late speech. This acute, ingenious man proposes to take four millions of men by the hair, tear them up by the roots and send them out of the country. It is possible to take wandering tribes of Indians from place to place, but the African is entirely different—as is the vine from a bamboo. The Indian grows straight as a bamboo; the African, like a vine, embraces and entwines about everybody he can. What the South needs is labor. Is this a time, when the South is asking all creation for workingmen, to take away the acclimated, accustomed negroes, and put them away in the Western country? It is a question more absurd than any ever asked outside of a lunatic asylum. Maryland says at this time of duty, "Shirk, sneak, sneak out of your duty; act contemptibly; by no means act like men." Our hearts, I say, should be turned toward all our people. Give money, clothes and education to the white—yes, and to the colored people. We are to carry the Church, the Common School and the Academy to all the Western States, and to all the people of all the country. Laws can't make men—you may call the negroes all the pretty names in the world, but unless they are intelligent, industrious, and devoted to the laws of labor, as are the people of this part of the country, they won't be one whit better off than now. We never can deny man in this country long any civil right for which he is well fitted. If the negro can be proven fit for the suffrage, for the holding of property, he will not long be kept out of it. As a point of transition, a property qualification might be accepted—not as final, but as a transitory measure. Nor do I believe that this nation would put guns into the hands of 150,000 negroes, and then deny them the right to vote. I believe, with Sherman, that a man who has carried a musket has a right to carry a ballot. Let us have this for a Beginning, let those who have fought our battles have the right to vote, and I would like to see the Democrat, the man who can look this black hero in the face and say he is not fit to vote. Some people say "are we never to hear the last of the negro?"

We have heard nothing but negro since the day of our birth. Well, why don't you suppress him? I tell you you've got to dine and sup on negro until you do him justice. When you do, he'll sink away from caucusses, conventions or parties; but unless you do he'll haunt you, he'll haunt you here and haunt you there, until a blacker than he haunts you hereafter. God's world is a world of work; if you would rest, work, and then if you would rest, die and rise to a higher sphere, to the industry of God himself. There is no higher, nobler duty than that of work, and of all work that which elevates a fellow man is the dearest, the sweetest, the most divine; let us then together, and with noticeable unanimity—with trust in God and trust in each other—accept the duty that lies plain before us, and to the best our God-given ability, do it, and do it with our might.

SOUTHERN CONGRESSMEN.

From the Cincinnati Enquirer.

A SPECIAL to the *Post*, dated Washington, October 24, says:

"Mr. McPherson, Clerk of the House of Representatives, says he will not put on the list of members the name of any person claiming to be elected from a State that has been in the rebellion. To do so, he says, he would be deciding one of the most important questions before Congress, and let in eighty Southern members at the outset to vote upon the subject of their own recognition, and would end the controversy in their favor at once."

Congress does not meet for six weeks, and there is no necessity for trumpeting in advance what the Clerk intends to do in reference to the organization. If he is an honest man, he will be guided strictly by the Constitution and the law which he has sworn to support. The law requires him to put upon the list the names of all the members from all the States composing the Union. It is not for him to decide questions of disputed seats, but simply to call the roll of all those men who have certificates, and who claim, by virtue of them, to be members of the House, leaving the point of legality to be decided by that body afterwards.

The Clerk has precisely as much right to refuse to call the names of Eggleston and Hayes, the members from this county, as to refuse to call the names of the members from New Orleans and Charleston. The Clerk, in this instance, has a plain duty to perform, from which he cannot shirk. Not to put the names of all upon the list would be an act of usurped power—a determination of a question in advance by a mere ministerial officer of the House.

Prima facie, the right of the Southern members to their seats is clear and indisputable, and on no account, and on no pretense, can it be suffered to be abandoned.

Selections.

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH BY HON. GRATZ BROWN.

[The following are extracts from a speech delivered recently in St. Louis, by Hon. Gratz Brown. The objection to long articles generally is, a want of corresponding breadth and importance. On such grounds the following is far above all reproach.]

SLAVERY means cast or social separation by artificial line; it means inequality before the law, signified in various disabilities; it means non-resistance and subordination, enforced by withholding all political franchise or participation in government; and each of these is an element bound up with the system and exerting a reactionary influence on the dominant class equally with its direct influence upon the subject class. Can it be wondered at, then, that slavery moulds communities into shapes peculiar to itself, just as freedom erects commonwealths signalized by a lustre all its own?

An analysis which shows slavery, however, to be the composite of several elements, each fruitful of its own evil, and each reacting on all other parts of society, establishes equally that any attempt to abolish slavery, and leave untouched its distinctive features, would be an idle pageant. Would it be credited as any abolition of slavery if we were to negative the power of controlling the labor of the freedmen by corporal punishment, and yet leave other modes, equally as effective, of reducing him to the will of a master? Could it be called abolition of slavery if, whilst recognizing wages as the right of the laborer, yet another was authorised to determine unreservedly the conditions of such labor? Does it deserve to be accepted as abolition of slavery if, at the very moment of destroying the life and tenure of holding slaves, you substitute the power of holding such as a subject race by virtue of legal disabilities? In short, will you have abolished slavery, if you alleviate only the one evil resulting from enforced labor, and leave to grow and flourish all the other evils bred of caste and inequality, and subordination and oligarchic rule, the most marked as they are the most disastrous elements of slavery? That slavery may be a matter of degrees, is witnessed by its lack of identity in different ages and different nations; and that it springs from diverse roots, with distinctive natures, is seen by its origin out of labor tenures in one land, political regulations in another, and social castes in still a third. To sum up this presentation, therefore, must we not if we would abolish slavery in truth and reality, also abolish all those modes and appliances and conditions that infringe upon equal liberty, and that engender in one mastery, in another dependence; in one control, in another obedience; in one all power of aggression, in another no power of self-defence?

An equal freedom is the only refuge from an antecedent slavery; universal suffrage the only remedy for disasters that follow from subordinating or disfranchising a race and incorporating it in a free community. And be sure that the condition of the South is such as will demand the most Radical reform, enforced with the most unyielding firmness. Indeed, I know of no language that may fitly characterize the low estate to which it has been brought by its boasted institution, unless it be that which Mr. Bancroft has so graphically applied to the decline of the Roman people: "Slavery had destroyed the democracy, had destroyed the aristocracy, had destroyed the empire, and at last left its traces deeply furrowed on the face of nature itself."

VOTING A NATURAL RIGHT.

* * * The assumption that freedom in any of its forms is a privilege conceded by society is utterly unwarrautable, because society itself is a concession from the individual—the liberty of each limited by the like liberty of all—and such limitation is what society or government represents. And it is in this sense and flowing from this axiom that the rights of franchise originally appertain to all alike; for franchise is in itself nothing more than a mode of participating in the common government, and represents only the interest each has therein. That limitations may attach thereto, just as they attach to freedom of speech, or freedom of action, is perfectly true; but they must be equal limitations, applicable to all alike, growing out of the social relation, and not levelled at the inherent right of any individual or class. Thus the exclusion of criminals from the franchise, the designation of terms of minority as connected with the exercise of political duties, the regulation of the admission to citizenship of persons coming from foreign countries, find their justification in a principle which, so far from recognizing in government or society a purely arbitary control of the rights and exercises of self-government or personal liberty, brings it down with rigid and narrow limits of equality and necessity.

There are those who seek to escape this conclusion, and put the blush upon all free government, by affirming that a right of franchise is a purely political right, neither inherent nor inalienable, and may be divested by the citizen or the State at will. The consideration before mentioned, that the right of franchise is neither more nor less than the right of self-government as exercised through a participation in the common government of all, shows that if it be not a natural right, it will be difficult to say in what a natural right consists. Indeed, it is perhaps the most natural of any of our rights, inasmuch as its denial is the denial of all right to personal liberty, for how can such a right exist when the right to maintain it among men and the societies of men is denied. Again, if the right to share in the government over us is not inherent, from whence does it come? Who can give the right to govern another? and how can any give that he has not got? Society is but the aggregate of individuals, and its authority represents only the conceded limitations on all—not any reservoir of human rights, otherwise human rights would vary with every changing association. Still, again, if the right of a man as regards government can be divested either by himself or government at will, then government has no limits to its rightful tyranny—it may divest not only one man, but a hundred or a thousand; indeed, why not all but the chosen few or the imperial one—thus arriving logically at oligarchic or despotic rule. And if a man may divest himself of this right, what right is sacred from his renunciation? That a man may refuse to exercise any right is true, and that in changing his abode he may sever his political and social relations, is equally true; but these facts only prove that his natural rights inhere in his person, go with him in his movement, subject always to be exercised under the conditions and limitations before recited. After all, to demonstrate the utter falsity and pernicious consequence of the idea that the right to share in the common government (which is only a synonym for the right of franchise), is a privilege to be farmed out by government at discretion and to whom it chooses, it is only necessary to ask, if that be so, whence comes the right to representation? Wherein is the foundation for any democratic society, viewed as a right?

THE AUTHORITY OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

Clearly it was the intention to repose suffrage on the most democratic basis. The choice is to be made by the "people" of the several States. The term used is the largest collective word known to the law—a word that excludes the idea of classification or subjection—and one that has attached to it a well-settled meaning in the contemporaneous exposition of the Constitution. The very preamble of that instrument begins: "We, the people of the United States," and it is a fact well known that among that "people" not only were there many citizens of the African race exercising rights of suffrage, but at that time no political distinctions formed on race or color had obtained national recognition. Of the thirteen colonies that assented to the Articles of Confederation, or the thirteen states that ratified the Constitution of the United States, no one of them by any constitutional provision excluded any person from the right of suffrage on account of color, except South Carolina. That State had engrafted the distinctive word "white" upon her own franchise, but the fact of her so doing in no wise involves the position of the General Government either directly or constructively, for when South Carolina sought to commit the representatives of the nation to such an attitude, it was distinctly repudiated. Thus in the Congress of the Confederation, when the fourth article was under consideration, which entitled the "free inhabitants" of each State to all the privileges and immunities of "free citizens in the several States," the delegates from South Carolina moved to amend by inserting the word "white" between "free" and "inhabitants," but when put to a vote only two States sustained the proposition, the balance standing firm for the rights of colored citizenship. Subsequently South Carolina also moved to amend the same article, by inserting after the words "the several States," this clause: "according to the laws of such States respectively for the government of their own free white inhabitants." This was also negatived by the same vote—still more striking illustration than even the former that it was not within the purpose of our National Government of that day to permit any "free inhabitant" of any State to be robbed of the immunities and privileges of a citizen on account of color.

INTERESTING HISTORICAL CITATIONS.

But that is not all that these citations from the records of the Continental Congress establish. They prove that the words "free inhabitants" and "citizens of these several States" were convertible terms, and thus fix a definition of the words "we, the people," as used at the time of the formation of the Constitution, as synonymous with "free inhabitants." It was for the "free inhabitants" that the mutual guarantees in the several States were affirmed under the Articles of Confederation, and by consequence when they came to form a more perfect Union. It was of themselves they spoke as "we the people." And this definition of that term, if further confirmation were needed, is rendered certain by the use of the word "people" in other parts of the Constitution where it must signify "free inhabitants," if it has any signification, and where limitations of color or race are totally inconsistent with its scope of meaning. Thus in the amendments to the Constitution you will find—

Art. 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Art. 2. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Art. 4. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, house, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated.

Does any one believe that all these rights thus guaranteed to the "people" can be taken away by State authority from any part of the "free inhabitants" of such States by discriminating against color or race? And if they may be taken from one color why not from any color? If from one race why not from any race, Saxon, Celtic, or Slavonic? But if the word people, may not be thus limited in its application to the rights set forth in those articles, by what parity of reasoning can it, be abridged of its full meaning in the second section, which declares that members of Congress shall be chosen by "the people" of the several States.

The construction contended for, however, does not rest merely upon inference; Congress repeatedly exercised the power of determining in the formation of territorial governments who it understood to be "the people"—the rightful electors—those entited to exercise the franchise, and in every such instance, up to the year 1812, the recognition extended to free inhabitants, unrestricted by limitations of color or race. Thus the resolutions of the Congress of the Confederation for the temporary government of territory ceded by the individual States to the United States, adopted April, 1784, provided for the establishment of governments by "free males of full age." Again, the Ordinance of July, 1787, vested the right of suffrage in "the free male inhabitants of full age." And subsequently, of the ten territorial acts passed by Congress after the ratification of the Constitution, and prior to the time named, all gave the franchise to the free inhabitants, and none limited it by color.

It is thus seen, both from contemporaneous exposition and from a long subsequent practice of the government explanatory of the sense in which it was received, that the Constitution of the United States in its reference to the persons regarded as possessed of the right of suffrage, has used a term, "the people," that cannot be limited arbitrarily by color or race without doing violence not only to the plain meaning of the word itself, but to its technical meaning as used in the Constitution. It may be said, however, that the word "people" as used in this section, is itself impliedly limited by the reference to qualification for voters similar to those requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

The answer to this is that the phrase "qualification" applies to individuals of the whole people, and relates to regulations that spring more or less directly, as I have already shown, out of the social relation. Indeed its very derivation, *qualis facere*, to make such, implies approach or capacity of attainment, and is at total variance with the impassable barriers of race and color. The reference was to regulations of age, of domicil, of allegiance, applicable to all alike; but was never designed to embrace restrictions that might exclude the people and leave only their rulers. The former were common in all the States; the latter had been proposed but in one, and when subjected to review by the national authority at the instance of that State, had been repudiated. Indeed, no other interpretation is possible; because, as has been shown in nearly all the States, colored men were citizens and voters, their right to all the immunities and privileges of citizens in the several States has been affirmed, and the Congress of the Confederation, when brought face to face with this very question of "qualification" by color under local law, refused to permit the addition to the fourth article of the words "according to the law of such States for the government of their own free white inhabitants." That addition to the article would have acknowledged the right of the States to impose qualifications of color; its rejection is the denial of the right, and interprets the understanding in pursuance of which the Union was first formed and afterward perfected. The conclusion, therefore, becomes inevitable that the Constitution in declaring "the people" to be its electors for members of Congress, refers to the people in their totality—the people as a whole; and as regards qualification the States were only authorized to fix for the Union as well as for themselves the test of individual capacity to exercise choice, and not to exclude classes or parts.

THE RIGHTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The second ground on which the right of a State to control absolutely the suffrage is reposed will be found equally untenable. If it be one of the reserved rights of the States under the tenth article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, it is certainly not an unlimited power, for if it were, disfranchisement exercised up to the extreme point would be an easy method of perpetuating party rule, and might be levelled against whites as well as blacks, against all shades of opinion, and against every nationality. As has been said of taxation, the right to license carries with it the right to license up to prohibition; so the right to limit arbitrarily the suffrage of citizens would carry with it the right to classify up to a pure aristocracy or tyranny. But that no such discretion was ever vested in the States or reserved to them by implication or otherwise is shown by the view which has already been presented of the essential connection between the right of suffrage and the right of self-government. In our democratic scheme we do not recognize our liberties as flowing from the government, and, of course, the government cannot dispose of them arbitrarily. This, however clear it may be from first principles, is not left as a matter purely of induction by the Constitution of the United States, as will appear from the fourth section of the fourth article. It reads:

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of legislature (or of the Executive, when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence."

What does the Republican form of Government consist in if it be not representation? And representation implies election, and election suffrage. Suffrage, then, is of the very essence of the Republican form, and its guarantee is reposed with the national Government. In the debates on this subject in the Constitutional Convention Mr. Madison well said: "The right of suffrage is certainly one of the fundamental articles of Republican Government and ought not to be left to be regulated by the legislature. A gradual abridgment of this right has been the mode in which aristocracies, have been built on the ruins of popular forms." Mr. Butler remarked: "There is no right of which the people are more jealous than that of suffrage. Abridgments of it tend to the same revolution as in Holland, where they have at length thrown all power into the hands of the Senates, who fill up vacancies themselves and form a rank aristocracy." And Col. Mason with still greater explicitness, declared: "The true idea, in his opinion, was that every man having evidence of attachment to, and permanent common interest with, the society ought to share in all its rights and privileges." These expressions sufficiently repel the idea that it was the intention to leave the right of suffrage at the mercy of the States, and show why it was, and in what respect it was, a supervision was interposed and power was vested in the General Government to guarantee Republican forms in the States.

NO POWER TO EXCLUDE CLASSES.

Thus to reconcile the Constitution to itself—the powers granted to the General Government with those reserved to the States, we are forced to give this right of prescribing the qualification of voters the same limit that resulted from the former line of argument, and say that it means the right to regulate the attainment of suffrage by individuals, and not the right to exclude classes—a right, too, held subject to the supervision of the United States, whenever the limitations placed on the franchise by a State are seen to affect or endanger that republican character of its local government. But of this latter, the National Government must be the judge in the exercise of its strictly constitutional power. Its discretion must determine where such danger begins and where it ends. When charged to guarantee a republican form of government to the States, it has to deal with results as well as principles—to judge of the extent as well as the character of those elements that threaten to destroy them, and hence it is that even the same violation in one State might not call for the same promptitude of interposition as in another; for what might be trivial and not likely to transgress the limit of an individual injustice in Connecticut, might in South Carolina, with larger elements involved and influenced by a more grinding tyranny, lead to the subversion of all political rights. It is true, the principle is the same in each case; but it is not true that the danger is the same in each, and it is against consequences that the National Government is commissioned to stand guard.

But whatever may be the opinion of this clause of the Constitution in its relation to State rights theoretically—to hypothetical cases, and inferential results, there can be no doubt that when State governments have actually been overthrown and divested of their republican form, when the danger contemplated in the Constitution has just been combated and suppressed by force of arms, it rightfully falls within the province of the United States to say whether disfranchisements and restrictions of suffrage involving whole classes and races which have just had their outcome in rebellion, shall be permitted to continue and breed other attempts at separation, now when it has in hand the very work of restoring the republican form to these States. On what other ground does it now undertake to abolish slavery; and if slavery, why not the shadow of slavery also—a class suffrage?

Thus from whatever standpoint the subject of suffrage as related to our National and State governments is regarded, it will appear that while much of regulation is left to the latter, the control in cases of last resort is given expressly to the former; but that under no consideration is there any warrant for upholding class or caste disqualifications among citizens either by State or Nation.

A RADICAL LOYALIST TO A RECONSTRUCTED REBEL.

PERTINENT SUGGESTIONS.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29, 1865.

HON. E. C. CABELL, MEMPHIS, TENN.—*Sir:* I have read carefully your letter in the *Tribune*, and agree with you in the advantages of soil and climate which the Southern States offer to white immigrants.

I also fully reciprocate your desire that all ill feelings arising from past differences may be forgotten. If, therefore, I dwell in this letter mainly on the errors of the Southern section, it is not because I believe the North free from complicity in this great crime, but for the reason that a statement of Northern delinquencies would complicate the subject. It is enough that the whole country has grievously sinned and is now paying the penalty. Let us all hasten to make the necessary atonement and endeavor to repair the wrong. It is essential for the prosperity of our country that as speedily as possible the North and South should learn that injustice to one section is injury to the whole, because it retards civilization; that the denial of civil rights to a portion of our citizens strikes at the foundation of good government, and that the refusal of fair compensation to a portion of our laborers degrades labor everywhere. To speak in plainer terms, the refusal of Southern landholders to pay their colored fellow-citizens a fair price for their labor, because they are not wholly of white blood, *degrades the labor of Southern white men, and prevents them from acquiring habits of thrift and industry.*

It is in vain, therefore, that you call on other laborers to enter your fields and till your bountiful soil, so long as you refuse just compensation to those you now have ready to work for you at fair wages. Begin at home with the laborers you have around you; call them together and say you are ready to give them the same wages, as prompt pay and as kind treatment for their skilled labor as you must give to the unskilled and unacclimated labor of the North, and you will find they will return to your farms, railroads, and all other employments requiring manual labor "with alacrity."

In making this statement I do not depend on the reports of others. I have employed laborers at the South as well as the North, and have now men and women in both sections of the country at work for me, not of one class only, but all classes, skilled and unskilled, native and foreign labor, and I tell you from experience that the colored man labors as well as any race in the world.

Let me give you some of my experience in the colored labor of the South. In March, 1863, I hired two cotton farms in Murfreesborough, Tenn. (the same State to which you wish to invite white labor), and about eighty laborers, men, women and children. I agreed to furnish the customary rations, and pay monthly fifteen dollars for an able-bodied man, twelve dollars for women, and in fair proportion to three dollars for the smallest child that could earn wages. Good treatment was promised, and on these terms we were able to obtain all the extra labor required through the season.

We also stipulated that any person who did not work diligently should be paid off and discharged. No other coercion was used, and the report of my agent at the close of the year was, *one man discharged for breaking the rules, and one woman for laziness.* I can assure you, Northern laborers will not do better, for in the exigencies of the crops when hard labor was required, they worked with proportionate energy. But few of our hands were able-bodied, for I had enlisted six thousand of the able-bodied men the year previous in the army. We planted five hundred acres of cotton, fenced it, and did other extra work required on a farm that, having been abandoned eighteen months previously by its owner, was consequently stripped of everything moveable. In addition to the cotton, we had corn and other grain. We made a crop that paid handsomely for the outlay, and except for the interruption of labor caused by Hood's army, the profit would have been very large.

A friend, who by my advice hired another farm in the vicinity, and pursued the same course, obtained a better result than I did, making a very profitable investment of his capital. This year I am cultivating the same quantity of cotton land on this farm, and have heard no complaint of unwillingness on the part of the hands to perform their contracts.

Last year Northern capitalists began to send money South for investment, but as no safety could be promised, most of it was returned, and the remainder was largely lost for want of legal protection. Consequently, the attempt has not been resumed, and will not be, until full assurance of safety can be had.

How can you give us a feeling of security, while you are doing injustice to your own citizens? Shall we not, remembering the past, fear our own lives are in danger, while we have before us the present record of your daily treatment of the freedmen? Can the white laborer trust you, when he knows you refuse to pay the colored laborer for work fairly performed?

These grave considerations do not yet appear to have forced themselves on the attention of Southern landholders, but they will in time, and then they will find that he who shoots a freedman lessens the value of property in the South as much or more than when that man was a slave. You must remember the South has been heretofore a land of violence, rather than a land of law, and that strangers have been hung, shot or imprisoned for the expression of lawful opinions. No legal enactments can secure us from this violence, for where the people are unanimous in their opposition to a law, it becomes a dead letter unless enforced by military rule, and such enforcement will not be tolerated by you or by us.

There remains, therefore, only this alternative; if you want capital and labor to flow to the South, you must conform your opinions and usages to those of countries where capital and labor are abundant. In England, France and Germany it is in excess, but in Russia, Turkey and Egypt there is but little wealth. There is no European emigration to Egypt, although the land is more fertile than ours, and they produce the finest cotton in the world. For the same reason, immigrants come to the North because the South would not give them consideration and security.

Let me now briefly state the conditions necessary to draw capital and labor, either foreign or domestic, to the South.

First—Fair wages, good treatment, and prompt pay. It is usual at the North to pay the laborer in cash weekly or monthly.

Second—The labor must be respectable; if it is not, the employer must pay an extra price for it or suffer in the quality.

Third—Good *free* schools. None of our citizens are more anxious to avail themselves of our *free* schools than our foreign population, and this difference must be paid for in money so long as it exists. The best, both foreign and native, will not work where their children cannot be well educated; for they value education above money.

To induce capital to flow freely to the South you must reconstruct your State governments on the Northern basis, where the mass of laborers vote, and all have equal protection in the courts. The ballot-box and school is the security for capital in the Northern States, and must become so in the South. For want of schools the South has lost its capital, and can only regain it by establishing them to the fullest extent. The reign of force has passed away, and the reign of law and intelligence must replace it, or the South will remain desolate; for the Southern question will be determined by the laws of labor and the laws of trade, not by any legislation intended to defeat either of them.

In the hotel where I am staying, the colored servants work cheerfully and faithfully for twenty dollars a month and their board. In the street opposite my window others are digging a deep drain; these I see work as steadily as Northern men, and get, they tell me, one dollar and fifty cents per day. These are the lowest prices for foreign labor in New England, where they are well treated, promptly paid, respected, and have good schools all the year round free of charge; and we can employ all who will come to us. Is the South ready to bid as high for foreign labor?

Let me call your attention to the fact that our Massachusetts savings banks hold sixty millions of dollars, invested by our free laborers, native and foreign; and, in addition, a much larger amount of other property. This accumulation has gone hand in hand with the increased fortunes of our capitalists. At the South you can accomplish the same results by pursuing the same course. I beg of you to set political considerations aside and look your condition square in the face. It is time for the Southern people to throw aside false theories and unworthy prejudices. Because you make the negro your equal in the courts, you need not invite him to your table; or if you give him the ballot, you are not in consequence obliged to offer him your daughter in marriage. Deal with him as you know him to be, a faithful servant to a faithful master, and the other relations of society will take care of themselves. He will not seek to be your son-in-law until he feels sure the offer will be graciously considered.

If you think the mass of those lately slaves are not fit to vote, offer the ballot to those who can read and write. Surely an intelligent negro is more fit to help govern the country than an ignorant white man, and a citizen who has been always loyal is to be trusted rather than one who has always been disloyal. The concession of this privilege to the educated portion will assure the rest that you earnestly desire their welfare, and they will repay your kindness with faithful service.

I have written to you plainly, but with the kindest wishes for the true welfare and prosperity of the South; for, as when one member is diseased the whole body suffers, so if one section of our country is languishing, the other cannot be in a sound condition.

Let us, therefore, forgetting the past, strive to emulate each other in endeavors to rebuild the government on the broad basis of our Declaration of Independence, eradicating from the country vice and ignorance, its parent. Not till that glorious period arrives will any of us enjoy the full benefit of a free government.

I have other facts equally favorably to the quiet and industrious character of the negro, which you shall have for your private information if you desire to see them.

Truly your friend, GEORGE L. STEARNS.

ROBT. E. LEE AND WASHINGTON COLLEGE, VA.

From the New Orleans Daily Tribune.

THE following caustic article is from the pen of Rev. Dr. B. F. Crary, editor of the *Central Christian Advocate*, St. Louis, Mo. We commend it for its plain truthfulness, and are happy to see that some men of virtue and intelligence in the country are not afraid to speak out on the gross outrages which are now being enacted:

WASHINGTON COLLEGE, VIRGINIA.—We would as soon send our son to a pest house for health, or a gambler's den for education, as to send him to this villainous college. Robert E. Lee is its President, and we think him the worst man America has produced.

He was educated by the Government he tried to destroy, and therefore is an ingrate. He swore to defend that Government and its Constitution, and violated his oath, and therefore is a traitor and perjured wretch. He acted as a spy while yet in the employment of the Government and betrayed the plans of his commander, Gen. Scott. He saw thousands of helpless men put to death by the most atrocious cruelties ever perpetrated, and yet did not utter a syllable against the terrible wickedness.

Altogether, he stands out the most inexcusable, vilest traitor of the whole crowd of criminals whom he headed. Putting him in the position of an educator of youth is an insult to the Government and an outrage upon all respectable teachers.

What have the youth of the country done that such a man should be their teacher? We would not for the wealth of the world be educated at such a place, by such a man. Every student who receives a diploma at his hands ought to be hissed through life. He ought to be excluded from every position of trust and honor. We would not permit a son to go to school to a teacher who should graduate under this arch-traitor. We go in for civilizing Old Virginia, and expelling from decent society the trustees, professors and students of this traitor college. A more flagrant, indecent, unspeakable outrage than his election, has never been perpetrated in the name of education.

HEROISM AND GRATITUDE.—A Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Times* thus bewails the condition of the Southern whites:

"All that have been raised at the South this year have been raised by *the heroic labor of the white people themselves*, the officers and soldiers of the late Confederate army having labored diligently in the corn cribs and harvest fields, *and the delicately nurtured ladies of the South sweeping the*

houses, making the beds, and rubbing the skin off their pretty little hands at the washtub, while their ungrateful and pampered negroes were wandering about the country and rushing to the cities."

We infer therefrom that for a white Southerner to work for his own support is "heroic," while for a black Southerner to refuse to work without wages to support another man is ungrateful!—*Chicago Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1865.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

THE STANDARD Subscribers to whom bills are sent, will confer a favor by remitting the amounts due at their earliest convenience.

PRACTICAL ATHEISM:—WILL THE NATION BE SAVED?

THERE were periods during the war when thoughtful minds asked, Will the nation be saved? The practical atheism in the high places of both State and Church was, at times, most appalling. Every sound student of history, and every believer in God and his moral government, knew the inevitable necessity of some Divine visitation to vindicate the majesty of Eternal Justice. Columbus saw the need of a Western Hemisphere to balance the material forces of the globe. The wisdom of the world before had not perceived it. The wealth of the world dared not embark itself in the enterprise of discovery when it was announced; and the sublimest achievement of the ages was ready to fail through unbelief.

Slavery had been the sin and crime of the nation from the beginning. History and philosophy both pointed to the penalty as Columbus to his continent. The State adopted slavery as a policy. The Church hallowed it as of Divine appointment and approval. Nero had slaves, and why not Washington? Abraham was a slaveholder, and Paul a slave-hunter, and why not the patriarchs and priests of the Church in the nineteenth century? So men reasoned; but God still reigned; and to those who believed in Him, the war was no surprise.

The national guilt festered for years in the heavens, like clouds of electric wrath, to burst in due time in storms of thunder. But the Divine hand was not seen even in the dread apocalypse of fratricidal war. The nation sought to shield itself by raising lightning rods of "conciliation," of "political expediency," and "military necessity." The Church recommended "days of fasting and prayer." Two or three generals (not bishops or elders) proposed and began to practice a *fasting* not contemplated by the Church, and a *fighting* not yet ordered by the State. They began to "undo the heavy burdens" of the slave, to "let the oppressed go free," and then to invite the able-bodied among them to the army. But the State revoked the orders, and removed the authors of them from command. The Church, meanwhile, adhered to the Government and to her own mode of fasting, without "breaking the yoke" of slavery. And onward still swept the tornado of war.

And men asked again, Will the nation be saved? The army was increased to more than two millions of men. The vessels of war were, in all, six hundred. Such an army never before shook the earth. Such a navy had never ploughed the prairies of the sea. More than two thousand battles were fought. Our slain numbered almost half a million. Had the resources of the enemy borne any proportion to our own, we should have been swept from the land before the third year of the war. And yet our cause, as compared with the other side, was, *or could and should have been made*, as that of the army of archangels when routing rebellion out of heaven and hurling it down to hell! The South fought for slavery. The North fought for Union with slaveholders. Both parties honestly declared their purpose. We proclaimed at home and abroad that "*the status of no human being would be changed by the revolution, whether it succeeded or failed!*" He that is a tyrant, let him be a tyrant still. He that is a victim, let him be a victim still. The South fought for slavery alone. The North fought for Slavery *(not Liberty)* "and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." "The status of no human being will be changed by the revolution," sounded from the State Department through the country and across the ocean! The general whom we most delighted to honor proclaimed to the slaveholders that should their victims dare rise against them and come over to us, we would hurl them back "with an iron arm!" Thus persistently did we spurn even the just judgments of the Most High. He had tried us in many mysterious ways. The martyred Lovejoy had almost been forgotten. The moral and religious agitation of thirty years, with its warnings and expostulations, its predictions and its threatenings, seemed thrown away. The blood of the immortal hero of Harper's Ferry was apparently shed in vain. Then grim war blew its trump like the day of doom, and all the fowls of heaven were summoned to the carnival of death, as in the visions of Patmos, that they might "eat the flesh of kings, and of captains; the flesh of mighty men, and of horses, and of them that sat upon them; and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great."

Still the true disciple of history and of God asked, Will the nation be saved? Forced by dire Military Necessity, we liberated a portion of the slaves. But it was necessity not virtue. It was for our own salvation, not that of our victims. Still the compassionate forbearance of God towards us did not fail. Rome was told in her extremity, that to be saved she must cast her most precious thing into the gulf. And her Curtius proved equal to the fearful hour. The Curtius of Israel, when all else failed, climbed to Calvary and to a cross. Our last, most precious offering was permitted to be sacrificed by assassination before the astonished eyeballs of the nation, while exultant with victory, but still unwilling as ever to be just! Then more momentous than ever before became the question, Will the nation be saved? Honorable burial was given to our crucified one; the nation with earnest weeping, went with him to the grave.

The funeral obsequies ended, the restoration of our national ruins was the next great work. The new President with great swelling words of vanity threatened dire punishment to rebels and traitors. The vanquished South waited, terror-stricken, her doom. She would have given her all to save her forfeited life. She would have made her meanest slave her equal, as a citizen, as he was before her superior in loyalty and love of liberty. But our puissant President only pared the nails of the rebellion by hanging a few poor miscreants, its instruments, and then restores to it its red right hand and fiery heart and brain, rampant, defiant as before. And this is his lauded, glorified plan of reconstruction. His Prime Minister, Mr. Seward, declares it is "not only the best, *but the only feasible plan which is, or ever can be adopted; admitting of no substantial change or modification!*" And the one only semicolon of that wondrous scheme of national salvation which awakens inquiry and agitates the public mind is the "*Status*" of that class of the population on whose account the war was waged and the ruin wrought.

The President declares the country belongs to the white man, and while he is its ruler, there shall be a "white man's government." To the battle-torn shreds of a colored regiment, whose meanest brogan he was unworthy to brush or unloose, he made an address. They had honored him and dishonored themselves by a parade in his presence. More than half of their original number had perished in defence of his "white man's country." And yet he began his address with a shameless falsehood, (as if nations never had colored troops before) and ended with an intimation that it was at least possible they might yet have to be banished *for the crime of color*, from a soil they had for ten generations fattened with their sweat, their tears and toil, and now sealed as their own, in baptisms of blood. Such is the President. A word on the parties.

Both political parties endorse, approve, and seem ready to die for the President and his unhallowed policy. The Democrats pretend to doubt the faith of the Republicans, and charge that they hold to doing justice and loving mercy, and would give suffrage and citizenship to the black soldier to whom the nation owes its existence. The Republicans deny indignantly so foul a slander! "By Ashdod's fame thou liest." Massachusetts in word proclaimed that she "*had no theory of suffrage to propose*" to rebels standing over their buskins in blood. Connecticut, in haste, hardens the word of Massachusetts into deed and law. The whole Republican party approve with exceptions too few to be told. And together they unite in surrendering their brave deliverers, their only saviors under the Divine favor, back to their former tormentors, to be crucified afresh, and with tortures unknown before. Suffrage, they are told, is not earned at the cannon's mouth nor bought with their blood. It belongs to the States to give and grant to whom they will. In their case, it must come from those whose slaves they were, but yesterday, and would be to-day, had they not aided in conquering their oppressors and achieving their own deliverance. Was there ever such insulting mockery as asking them to expect this boon at their hands?

The Church, too, and the pulpit, are walking softly and silently with the State. They praise the President and applaud his policy. Even Henry Ward Beecher, who has earned for the pulpit much of the anti-slavery respectability it enjoys to-day, must go out of his way to add point and poison to President Johnson's insults to the proscribed race, and decline before he is asked to be married to a colored woman! Suspected of writing one or two of the best editorial articles the New York *Independent* (or any other American journal) ever contained, in favor of impartial suffrage, and of justice to the colored race, he called his congregation together and in a sermon of immense length, it is said, he washed his hands clean of such imputation, before all Israel and the sun. Selecting for his text the words "hitherto hath the Lord helped us," he proceeded to exhibit the past and present policy of the President as one to be admired and honored, *in every act, as "apt, fitting and most wise,"* and the President himself, as "*appointed by God, and singularly fitted to take up the work where his martyred predecessor had left it!*"

But we have given the discourse as reported for a friendly journal in the city, and, in a most important part, corrected by the author. In its appropriate place on our first page it may be found, and readers can comment and criticise for themselves.

In so hasty a glance at the spirit and action of the three great elements of power—the President, the parties, and the pulpit—what is most apparent is, the entire absence of any high moral principle regulating or animating one or the other. The colored man is nowhere recognized as a human being. Classed with the brutes, he is still used as a mere convenience. At the breaking out of the rebellion he announced that his status would be the same as before, whether the revolution should succeed or fail. Driven at last by dire necessity to liberate and arm him to save ourselves, we robbed him most unrighteously of bounty and wages, and of all hope of preferment or promotion, by putting him ever under white officers. We placed him in the fore front of the hottest battles, with a rebel proclamation abroad that if taken prisoner, he would be at once murdered or sold into slavery. The horrors of Fort Pillow, unparalleled in the dreariest mythology of the ancients, are yet unavenged. To-day, by the paltriest legal quibbling, we are cheating many a black brave, plucked of an eye, pruned of a limb, and gashed and scarred all over with battle-axe autographs, of a few pistareens of bounty-money, for every one of which he has given more than ingots of gold. And these were told by Andrew Johnson that "Liberty consists in the right to work!" Tell us, ye gods and men, had they not that right before? But Liberty was more. The same huge lexicographer told them "Liberty means the right to labor, and to enjoy the fruits of our labor." But this last they seem not yet to have earned; or are they cheated out of it by the government? And the President preached to his long suffering audience a homily on the value and importance of personal chastity and the sacredness of the marriage institution. Over the bridge, he would have been in Virginia, where his own loyal legislature had just refused by a large majority to enact a law rendering valid the marriage institution, "among persons of African descent!" And all over the South are solemn statutory enactments making it lawful to *kill, on the spot*, a colored maiden who should presume to strike any pale monster that assailed her virtue—for any lover, husband, brother, or father, who dared a blow in her defence. And lastly, he told his patient victims it was yet a problem of some doubt whether we can live with them, even though they have saved us; unless they could be returned (why did he not propose it) to Mr. Seward's former "status," and shudder under these same indignities through other generations! No wonder the "*cheers*" interspersed through this strange harangue, came only from the white spectators of the scene.

And this is the man whom the parties both profess to admire, and propose to support. This is he whom the pulpits praise. This is he whom Mr. Beecher says "was appointed by God, and singularly fitted to take up the work where his mangled predecessor left it!" This is he whose every act, says Mr. Beecher, seems *apt, fitting and most wise?*" For months, the presidential plan of reconstruction was but "an experiment," so men said, and justified themselves in supporting it. Now it is a settled policy—and Secretary Seward assures the nation that *no other is possible*. As "an experiment," the country loathed it. Now that it is a pronounced, assured plan and purpose, and the only one possible, though aggravated by a thousand new conditions, that no man would have dared name at first, it is everywhere accepted and approved. Most of the political protest against it comes from the Radical Germans and a very few others, and these are shamefully denounced by their party as factionists, schismatics, and every vile thing. While it was held to be only an experiment, the churches (all but the Episcopal) were favoring and demanding suffrage for the colored race. Now that it is to be the policy, and an act of injustice which must stun the very heavens, is about to be perpetrated by, and in behalf of a "white man's government," where is their stern protest in the name of justice, righteousness and God? The Plymouth pulpit has apparently spoken for them all, in words of blasphemy against the holy spirit of truth and liberty. To it, every act of the President "seems apt, fitting and most wise." Plymouth Rock might well cry out at such atheistic recreancy; or burst like the stones of Jerusalem at this new crucifixion of the Messiah of a world's Freedom. The Church of the Puritans to-day stands strangely alone, a Mount Ararat for the ark of a country's hopes, amid the general cataclysm, and even it, with its eloquent pastor, is reduced to a handful of men.

But the popular churches have just asked and obtained a Presidential proclamation for another day of national thanksgiving and praise—thanksgiving that they have been saved from destruction, while they are surrendering their deliverers back again to worse woes than those from which God sent the war to deliver them. Surely France never saw atheism comparable to this! And the question remains, Can such a people be saved?

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THIS Ancient and Honorable body held its Annual Meeting on Friday last in Horticultural Hall, at West Chester. Under its present name the Society has existed about thirty years. Its germ, however, may be traced to the days of Dr. Franklin, Richard Rush, and the adoption of the Federal Constitution. In 1772 there was a State Society, "to promote the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the condition of the African Race." In 1789 Dr. Franklin, as President of that Society, signed a Memorial to Congress, asking that the full extent of its constitutional power be exerted "against the Slave Trade, and for discouraging every species of traffic in your fellow-men." This is said to have been his last public work. Probably he did not dream what scenes of sorrow, blood and tears awaited the victims of that system, through long and dreary years, nor what terrors would be enacted over his grave, when the hour of God's judgments should come, and their deliverance be demanded amid the fires of the mightiest war ever waged by mortal men!

The meeting last week was the twenty-ninth anniversary of the Society observing it. In point of numbers and interest, it was reckoned beyond several of the last. The two last sessions seemed a genuine revival. The house was filled and the attention deep and earnest. Some of the old familiar faces were missed, chiefly perhaps that of Thomas Whitson, the memory of whose long, manly and noble life to all who knew him, is fragrant as gardens of roses and beautiful as a sky full of stars, when the sun is set. But James Mott survives, and still fills with becoming dignity the Presidency of the Society. The senior, by a few years, of Francis Jackson, he has long held the same official position in the Pennsylvania Society that Mr. Jackson did for so many years in the Massachusetts. And Mrs. Lucretia Mott, too, was there, young, cheerful, hopeful, active and useful as ever, and blithe and beautiful as a girl, though readers of the STANDARD will remember that her golden wedding was celebrated two or three years ago, if not more. The venerable Thomas Garrett, too, was at his post, with his big record of TWENTY-FOUR HUNDRED SLAVES aided to freedom while slavery was yet the rampant, roaring lion, and not one of whom was ever known to be recaptured. Mr. Garrett, too, with all his years, is young and strong, as though anti-slavery were to him the tree of life. And Robert Purvis, Sarah Pugh, Mary Grew, Edward M. Davis, and others, well approved for long years of faithful service, were there, vigorous, courageous as ever, and determined to see complete victory crown their warfare unless released from it by death. A proposition was made to dissolve the association, and another to change its name; but neither seemed to obtain favor, or hardly to attract notice.

Of the speaking at the meeting, it is not needful to advert in this connection. A Reporter was present, and we understood the principal addresses would be given to the public. Mr. Wendell Phillips was of course the great attraction, and all admitted that he was never more eloquent and impressive, and surely he was never heard with more profound and unwearied attention, to a late hour in the evening.

Miss Anthony of Rochester and Miss Grew made brief but most forcible speeches; and the occasion, on the whole, was one not soon to be forgotten. It were well could similar gatherings be multiplied by thousands over the land. We give the principal resolutions presented, as they appeared in the Philadelphia *Press:*

Whereas, During the last year the rebellion of the Southern States against the United States Government in the defence of slavery, has been overcome, and our four years' war closed in the defeat of the rebels on the battle-field; and

Whereas, The nation is now in the perilous crisis of a reconstruction of the Union of the States, the conditions whereof may secure freedom to the negroes of the South, or may leave them the helpless victims of the tyranny from which the war has partially delivered them; therefore

Resolved, That a solemn responsibility rests upon anti-slavery societies and upon all Abolitionists for the faithful performance of duty to those in whose behalf we have labored for more than thirty years, and to whom we have given our pledges that we would labor untiringly, until the last fetter of the last slave should be broken.

Resolved, That the duty which the present hour requires of us is, that we demand uncompromisingly and unceasingly that the freedom bestowed upon the slave shall be real and substantial, and shall be permanently secured by such safeguards as shall forever protect him from a condition of serfdom, wherein, without the name, he will suffer much of the misery of the slave.

Resolved, That in the present temper and tone of the Southern people, as manifested in their conventions and Legislatures, in their appeals to the Federal Government, and in their newspapers and public speeches, we see abundant proof that the freedom and welfare of the colored population cannot safely be trusted in their hands; because,

1st. Though vanquished on the battle-field, and acknowledging themselves conquered, they are not converted to love of justice or hatred of oppression.

2d. Their contempt for the slave while he *was* their slave and victim, naturally changed to intense rage and hatred when they met him as an armed foe on the battle-field, and felt that *with his help* they were conquered.

Resolved, That we demand, in the name of justice and humanity, that equal suffrage for the black and white population shall be a condition of the return of the revolted States into the Union; because such equal suffrage will be the only security for the freedom of the slave, after the re-establishment of the State governments, and the consequent withdrawal of the United States military authorities from the South.

Resolved, That we greatly deplore the policy of the President of the United States, and the position of the Republican party, and the tone of the Republican press, relative to negro suffrage; all of which demonstrate the fact that our nation has failed to learn from the stern lessons of our terrible war that compromises with wrong always end in disaster, and that impartial justice is the true prosperity and glory of a people.

Resolved, That the conduct of the Protestant Episcopal Convention of the United States, recently assembled in Philadelphia, in refusing to give thanks to God for the abolition of American slavery, was practical infidelity to their profession of Christianity; and that to the members of that body, who publicly protested against this impiety, and to those editors who faithfully rebuked it, the hearty thanks of the friends of freedom are due.

Resolved, That we honor the noble course of those members of Congress who have ably and eloquently defended the doctrine that the only safe basis of national reconstruction is the citizenship of the freedmen; that we rejoice in the efforts of the Freedmen's Associations to feed, clothe and instruct the emancipated slaves of the South, and to inspire them with a full appreciation of, and fit them for the exercise of the responsibilities and duties of citizenship; and that we hail the growing popularity of these associations as one token of the mighty moral revolution through which our nation is passing.

Resolved, That, in view of the glorious triumphs won for freedom during the last four years, and the marvellous success of our great enterprise, we are overwhelmed with joy and gratitude, and strive in vain to utter our thanksgiving to Him whose right arm hath gotten us the victory.

Resolved, That the work which remains for us to do is to enlighten and purify public sentiment by the means which we have hitherto used for that purpose, to strive to obtain for the emancipated slave that only security for his freedom possible under our Government, and without which all philanthropic efforts for his moral and intellectual elevation must exist to terminate at the will of his former masters; and that to this completion of our work we will earnestly address ourselves, hoping to win the last great victory of our cause; or, if defeated by a proud and infatuated nation, assured that the blood of the slave will not be required at our hands.

Miss SARAH PUGH offered to amend by adding the following:

Whereas, Slavery, so long the dominant power in this country, and for the abolition of which this Society was organized in 1834, has, by the events of the last four years received its death blow; *and whereas*, the avowed and increasing anti-slavery sentiment of the country insures its total destruction; therefore

Resolved, That with devout and joyful thanksgiving for the work accomplished, and with the assured faith that the labor yet to be done will ere long be completed by the agency of the *people*, we close the operations and existence of this Society with the present annual meeting.

Resolved, That the late Executive Committee be appointed to wind up the affairs of the Society.

Mr. ALFRED H. LOVE offered the following as an amendment:

Recognizing the general and growing feeling of opposition to chattel slavery, and the hopeful prospect that the constitutional amendment abolishing such slavery will be adopted by the requisite number of States; and yet satisfied that slavery in its widest and vilest sense is not now, and would not then be eradicated, we resolve to enlarge our title and our sphere of usefulness, and to labor on with redoubled energy until freedom for all such be established, as the *Pennsylvania Equal Rights Society.*

Both amendments were rejected. The following was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in view of the fact that the close of the present year is to terminate the existence of *The Liberator*, we desire to express to our beloved friend, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, our high appreciation of his editorial labors in the cause of Freedom, to offer him our hearty congratulations that the great work to which in youth he dedicated his life seems so near its glorious accomplishment; and to assure him that our hearts, in sympathy with those of his and our fellow-laborers throughout this country, fervently pray that, in the complete triumph of Liberty in America, in the blessed consciousness of a life spent in the service of his fellow-men, and in the peace which passeth understanding, he may find his abundant and everlasting reward.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.—So many persons have called at this office to obtain the language of the Constitutional Amendment now before the States for adoption or rejection, that we reproduce it below, for the benefit of all to whom it comes:

Joint Resolution, Jan. 31, 1865. Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the said Constituiion, namely:

Art. 13.—Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

RECONSTRUCTION PROPOSALS.—The essential conditions of reconstruction as proposed by the President in form of official proclamations or dispatches, or familiar conversations with Southern men, seem to be about these:

First—The recognition, in the new State constitution, of the abolition of slavery.

Second—The declaration that the State ordinance of secession, and all the acts, debts and obligations of the State under the rebellion, are not repealed but null and void.

Third—The declaration that the obligations of the national debt must be shared by the South, in common with all the other States.

Fourth—The ratification by the initial State Legislatures of the amendment of the Federal Constitution abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States.

Fifth—The concession of the civil rights of citizens, in the courts, etc., to the emancipated blacks.

It is difficult to see why he could not have taken one step farther, especially while prohibiting disloyal voting. For if traitors could be punished with disfranchisement for their treason, the merit of *loyalty unto death*, it would seem, could and should be rewarded, *by the same authority*, with the rights of citizenship. But where there is no will, there is no way.

CHURCH RECONSTRUCTION.—The *Daily News* learns that one of the congregational churches in New Haven invited Rev. Dr. Reed of Richmond to its pulpit, and that he delivered two discourses there on Sunday last, to large and delighted audiences. The *News* adds: Dr. Reed is one of the ablest and most eloquent divines of the Presbyterian denomination at the South, and the invitation (a special one, we understand), by a Congregational church, for him to hold forth from a New England pulpit, is one of the marked "signs" of the times. The Rev. Mr. Carroll introduced the Doctor to his congregation as a "beloved brother in Christ."

The Boston *Transcript* says a good deal of excitement was produced in that city recently at a rabid Georgia Secessionist minister being invited to preach all day in the Congregational pulpit of Rev. Dr. Adams. Since repentance is no longer a condition of salvation, and Mr. Beecher has discovered that hell is but a quenched volcano, reconstruction gets on smoothly enough in the church at least.

KENTUCKY TRASH.—We learn, says the Boston *Commonwealth*, that at a recent classification of candidates admitted to Phillips' Academy, Exeter, were two Kentucky youths and a colored lad. The latter had passed a very creditable examination, and was advanced to a higher rank than the Kentucky applicants. So disgusted were these Southern gentlemen, that they precipitately withdrew from the seminary and returned to their homes, not "wishing to associate with niggers," as they delicately stated their grief. A letter lately received from that State regrets that the young men did not remain at the institution, especially as the means for the education of one of them were obtained by *private subscription* among the friends of the family, and the loss, by the journey to and from New Hampshire, was very considerable to the donors! Why will "darkeys" have brains, and thus seriously disturb young men who are educated by charity?

PROVISIONAL-GOV. PERRY of South Carolina has sent a message to his newly-chosen Legislature, from which we take the following:

"An early day should be fixed for the election of Members of Congress. *Should those elected be in Washington with their credentials when the Clerk calls the roll, they cannot be excluded more than those from Massachusetts.* No man in South Carolina can take the test oath without perjury, as it is not the policy of the President to enforce this, and he believes that it is not the policy of Congress."

Gov. Perry is the intimate counsellor of President Johnson, and reflects his opinions with exactness. We must presume the President favors the outrageous theory of Mr. Perry, and that the influence of the Administration will be used to compel Mr. McPherson to put the Rebel members on his roll. Some of the Radical journals are waking up to the danger.

WHAT DIVIDES THE PARTIES.—The New York *Herald* is not always so near the truth as when it said a day or two since: "The only issue of the State election, is whether or not Comptroller Robinson offered his hand to Thurlow Weed. Robinson says that he did not. Weed says that he did; and the only way to decide the matter is to take the opinion of the people at the polls as to which story is really true." In the Federal division of the parties, Pilate and Herod have certainly shaken hands, and concluded to release the Barabbas of rebellion, and crucify their loyal deliverers.

THE Georgia State Convention has met and is in session. An ordinance abolishing slavery was passed without discussion. The adoption of the rebel war debt being under consideration, Mr. Seward sent the following telegram:

The President of the United States cannot recognize the people of any State as having resumed the relations of loyalty to the Union that admits as legal obligations contracted or debts created in their names to promote the war of the Rebellion.

Suppose he had sent this: The President of the United States cannot recognize the people of any State as having resumed the relations of loyalty to the Union that refuses to give the ballot to all its loyal citizens—what power had Georgia to object to one more than the other?

DEATH OF LORD PALMERSTON.—The most important intelligence from abroad is that of the death of Lord Palmerston—Prime Minister of England—which occurred on the 18th ult. At last advices from London, his successor had not been appointed, owing to the absence of the Queen in Scotland; but it was rumored that the vacancy caused by his death would be filled by Earl Russell.

PERSONAL.

Robert Browning has in press, to be published before Christmas, a strange and wild Indian story, told of course in verse.

Gen. Meade expresses the opinion that twenty-five thousand men, belonging to the Army of the Potomac are living who have been disabled by wounds, and are incapable of self-support.

Miss Anna E. Dickinson spoke in Cooper Institute, in New York, Tuesday evening, Oct. 31, taking "Flood-Tide" for her subject. A very disagreeable storm kept away about half her usual audience, but the lecture was a very brilliant one.

Richard T. Greener, the young colored man who was lately admitted to Harvard College, took one of the prizes lately offered for the best reading, another being taken by a young Southerner who had served in the rebel army!

Maj.-Gen. Thomas, commanding the Military Division of Tennessee, had an interview with the President this week preparatory to returning to Nashville. Gen. Thomas, in his report to the President on the troubles in the Military Department of Kentucky, fully sustains the course of Gen. Palmer.

Dr. Donne is preparing the letters of George the Third for early publication. Thomas Carlyle says they will show the King to be a very different sort of person from what he is generally considered, and that he tried hard to do his duty to America as well as to his own kingdom.

Gen. Thomas is congratulating himself on his successful strategy in escaping the lion-hunters. He has travelled from Nashville to New York and through the principal cities on the Atlantic coast without suffering a single public reception. For the first time since the outbreak of the war Gen. Thomas now allows himself the pleasure of a reunion with his family. In four years he saw his wife but once. He is now in Washington.

A letter from Raleigh, N. C., received in Washington says Holden's chances of election for Governor are growing less and less every day, and that his competitor, Mr. Worth, will probably be elected by a considerable majority. The latter has the advantage of Holden in his record as a Union man and also from the fact that he is pledged to the payment of the State debt—a matter which the Holdenites timidly say nothing about in their platform. This latter omission, it is believed, will throw a majority of the secession vote in favor of Worth.

Wall street had a new sensation on Thursday of last week. The report was circulated and believed that Commodore Vanderbilt had been killed. A declaration of war would hardly have produced a greater excitement. The Commodore was not killed, but had been thrown from his carriage. Driving a spider team and a blood horse at a spanking gait down Broadway in the middle of the day is not the safest operation in the world. This is the second time the Commodore has been thrown from his carriage and nearly killed.

Rodgers, the sculptor, is at work on a new miniature group, representing the taking of the oath of allegiance before drawing rations. There are four figures: A United States officer, who holds in his right hand the Bible, upon which the the oath is about to be administered, and with his left lifts his cap from his head; a rebel woman, who is about to take the oath; a lad, her son, who timidly clings to her skirts, and a negro boy, who leans over the basket which he has brought to receive the rations. Of course the subject is handled skilfully.

James T. Gerard was one of the speakers at a Democratic meeting in Brooklyn, N. Y., on Friday night, and bitterly bewailed the freeing of the negroes. "He thought that many of them wished they were back under the old order of things—under the happy dispensation of that good old time—

> Merrily hoeing their masters' corn,
> To the jubilant note of the slave-driver's horn;
> With a skip and a hop, and a hop and a skip,
> To the joyful sound of the overseer's whip."

Earl Russell says, in his letter to Mr. Adams, that "the efforts by which the United States Government and Congress have shaken off slavery have the warmest sympathy of the people of these kingdoms." Mr. Adams replies—"in the midst of the gravest of our difficulties I cannot forget that even your lordship was pleased, in an official published dispatch, to visit with the severity of your but too weighty censure *the greatest political measure of the late lamented President*, that which, in fact, opened the only practicable way to the final attainment of the glorious end." Hypocrisy was never more keenly exposed in a diplomatic letter.

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* states that one day last week a justice of the peace of a certain brand, on Superior street in that city, summoned a negro as a juryman, to sit on some important case with white men. The white jurors, some of whom actually voted for Cox, refused outright to take their seats with him. After a couple of hours spent in quibblings, requests, and refusals, the redoubtable justice discharged the negro, and summoned a white man in his place.

Frederick Douglass' speech in Boston on the 24 Oct., deserves the public attention. "Once when I called upon Mr. Lincoln," he remarks, "Governor Buckingham, of Connecticut, also called and desired to see the President. 'Tell him he must wait,' said the President, 'I want to have a long talk with my friend Douglass.' I think," continued Mr. Douglass, "that was the first time that a Governor of a great State was compelled to stand out in the cold, while the President was conversing with a negro." Mr. Douglass strongly opposes the policy of President Johnson and the views recently pressed by Henry Ward Beecher.

Here is a pleasant and authentic anecdote of the late J. F. Herring, the animal painter. A dozen years ago, says the (London) *Star*, he painted a small picture for one of our best known dealers, and received a check in payment. The check was written on a slip of paper, "Pay Mr. J. F. Herring," and duly signed, but without the insertion of the words "bearer" or "to order," and the clerk of the Union Bank looked very doubtfully, first at it and then at the person presenting it. The artist noticed this, and demanded what was wrong. The clerk explained. "Don't you see it's payable to J. F. Herring." "I do," said the clerk. "Well, I am he.' "How do I know that?" said the clerk. "Do you know who J. F. Herring is?" "Rather," said the clerk. "I've got the 'Three Members of the Temperance Society' at home." Herring was delighted. He seized a pen, and on a sheet of blotting paper lying on the counter dashed off a sketch of some horses' heads. "What do you think of that?" said he, handing it across. The clerk paid him at once.

The remains of the lamented Col. Ulric Dahlgren were brought to Washington last week, and laid in state. Few men, during the late war, deserved more respect from the American people. When the war broke out he was in Louisiana. He was offered every inducement to join the conspirators, but their efforts failed, and he at once repaired to the North and entered the service of his country. He rendered distinguished service in the Valley of Virginia under Gen. Banks, and subsequently under Sigel and the commanders of the Army of the Potomac, and finally met his death while engaged in the enterprise of releasing our prisoners from the Richmond prisons. At Hagerstown he lost a leg, and at King's and Queen's Court House his life. The body was removed in a special train to Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and will be deposited in the family ground near that city.

Joseph E. Worcester, LL. D., the distinguished lexicographer, died Oct. 27 at his residence in Cambridge, at the advanced age of eighty-one years. Dr. Worcester was born in Bedford, New Hampshire, Aug. 24, 1784. He graduated at Yale College in 1811, and was for some time a teacher in Salem, but in 1819 removed to Cambridge. He began as early as 1817 the issue of his long series of manuals and text books in geography and history, and in 1827 made his first essay in lexicography, in a revised edition of Johnson. His labors in this department of learning were unremitting and resulted in a series of important publications, concluding with the great quarto which in 1860 may be said to have finished the work of his life and established his name in the first rank of the lexicographers of our language. The Boston *Advertiser* justly says: "Dr. Worcester's career was distinguished by a conscientious fidelity to the task which he had undertaken. He aimed to preserve the purity of our tongue, and to establish a standard which should have the sanction both of classical usage and cultivated taste. His success in this effort was such as to crown him with literary honors which few can hope to gain in the laborious and dry field of study which he selected for himself. Degrees from Yale, Harvard, and Dartmouth Colleges, and election as member of several learned societies, here and in England, testified the respect in which his industry and his attainments were held."

Among scholars and educated men and women in America the dictionary of Worcester has been the standard since its first publication.

Gov. Peirpoint of Virginia appears to advantage in the following letter from the Comptroller of the Currency, the Hon. Freeman Clarke:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF CONTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY,
WASHINGTON, Oct. 24, 1865.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: In your paper of yesterday, F. H. Peirpoint, Governor of Virginia, in a card, denies having stated to me that the people of Virginia would not consent to be taxed to pay the Government Debt, and also denies that I directed him to leave my office.

In answer to the denials, I state unqualifiedly that Gov. Peirpoint did express the sentiment imputed to him—not, however, in the precise words as stated in the dispatch to which he alludes, but in more objectionable and offensive language; and I also affirm that I directed him to leave my office.

A highly respectable gentleman, Mr. Chas. D. Smith, a brother of the Hon. Jas. C. Smith, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, was present, and heard the whole conversation. I inclose herewith his affidavit in reference to it.

I will state further that I have had nothing whatever to do, directly or indirectly, in procuring the publication of the dispatch to which Gov. Peirpoint alludes, and do not know from whom your careful and trustworthy reporter procured his information.

It will be noted that Gov. Peirpoint does not deny that he entertains the views expressed to me.

FREEMAN CLARKE.

COLORED CONVENTION IN INDIANA.

THE Western papers bring us brief accounts of a State Convention of the Colored Citizens of Indiana.

Pursuant to a call of the State Executive Committee some one hundred and fifty delegates representing the colored citizens of most of the counties of the State met in convention at the African Methodist Church in Indianapolis, at 9 o'clock, Oct. 24. After some discussion an organization was effected and the following officers chosen: President, W. S. Lankford, Indianapolis; Vice-Presidents, J. G. Britton, Rev. Moses Broyals; Secretary, W. G. Robinson, of Richmond; Corresponding Secretary, E. E. Outland, of Indianapolis.

Adjourned till 2.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

After the Convention was called to order a Committee on Business was appointed and one on Resolutions, the latter of which reported the following:

Whereas, The founders of this Government endeavored to establish for the people of the United States a republican form of government, in which a majority of the governed should have an undisputed right to rule in making, executing and repealing laws in such a manner as best to secure their welfare, and that of their posterity, and

Whereas, The Declaration of Independence declares life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to be the God-given, and inalienable rights of all men, and whereas thousands of our fathers, sons, and brothers, have fought, bled, and died in order to secure them; therefore,

Resolved, 1. That these rights are now, henceforth and forever ours by a three-fold title; ours by endowment from our beneficent Creator; ours by the right of inheritance from our forefathers who fought in the war of the Revolution and of 1812, and ours by purchase on many a blood-stained field during the late rebellion.

2. With the Revolutionary fathers that to secure these inalienable rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

3. That these rights have long been flagrantly, wickedly, and most inhumanly violated by the degenerate sons of noble sires, and that we hereby in vindication of republican principles, call upon the Federal and State Governments to repeal the unwholesome and tyrannical laws which have bereft us of the rights guaranteed to other American citizens, and which by the founders of our institutions were understood to be guaranteed by the Constitution to all men alike, regardless of color.

4. That we pledge ourselves to do all in our limited power to secure that intellectual and moral worth necessary to sustain a republican form of government, and for the encouragement of our race. We will petition the Legislature of this State, at its next session, to grant us access to the public school funds, and that we be permitted, with other men of other races, to testify in all cases before the courts of justice in this State.

5. That we are proud of the noble part which our people have taken in the suppression of the rebellion, and claim for them equal rights with other men before the laws.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted and the Convention adjourned till 9 o'clock.

APPEAL FOR THE WASHINGTON FREEDMEN.

THE following statement of the work which Mrs. Griffing has in hand deserves attention and a generous response from the friends of the freedmen in the North:

A pathetic appeal in behalf of the suffering colored men of Washington, has just been issued by Mrs. Josephine Griffing, agent of the National Freedmen's Association, exhibiting the destitution existing among that class in the city. The census of 1860 gives the colored residents of the city at 14,000, since which time at least 2,500 freed people have been added, a large proportion of whom are women and children, refugees from Virginia and Maryland. The appeal represents that thousands of the people are extremely destitute and unable to obtain self-supporting employment. Notwithstanding the Association has disbursed a large amount of stores to the suffering, it has found its beneficence entirely inadequate to supply their imperative wants, and is now obliged to appeal to the benevolent to aid it in its philanthropic work. Mrs. Griffing represents a most fearful mortality existing among them, the Quartermaster's Department having issued, during the hot weather, an average of eighty coffins per week. She says there can be no doubt that the sanitary condition of most of the poorest class conduces much to the fearful mortality among them as they are compelled to breathe a very impure air within and a stench from without. The remains are often covered with vermin after death. It is the opinion prevailing among close observers that three-fourths of these children die from neglect and want. In one family of a soldier who lost his life in battle, five out of ten of his children have died since March, 1865, from the above causes. In another case, three out of seven children of a soldier drafted in December last, have starved to death within the last three weeks. The mothers in both cases were prostrated with sickness, and all their supplies were suddenly and entirely cut off. In the same square, mothers, sons, wives and children of soldiers still in the

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, October 30, 1865.

As you have seen, a day of National Thanksgiving has been appointed by the President of the United States. The specifications from which this appointment is made to follow as a conclusion are three: first, because the Heavenly Father has been pleased to permit us to secure the blessings of peace, unity, and harmony, with a great enlargement of civil liberty; second, because He has saved us from foreign war, pestilence and famine; and third, because "Righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people."

True and instructive as is this last proposition, and pointedly suggestive as it is to our Administrative officers, the connection between it and the proposed manifestation of public gratitude is not very obvious. Why should this truth, which we as a nation do not illustrate or exemplify, be officially stated as one of the reasons for our thankfulness? Why should Andrew Johnson and William H. Seward lay before the public their official endorsement of such a proposition as this, either by itself, or as if it gave good ground for their union with the American people in a day of public thanksgiving?

In the same paper with this Thanksgiving appointment, and bearing the same date with the President's Proclamation, I find the following notice, issued by his order, namely:

"PAYMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Oct. 28, 1865.

"The printed memorandum, No. 57, from this office, containing a letter of the Second Comptroller, anouncing the decision of the Attorney-General in effect giving bounty allowances to all classes of colored troops, is by direction of the President hereby cancelled. No bounties will be paid to colored troops except as directed in Memorandum Circular No. 47, of this office, dated May 26, 1865.

"B. W. BRICE, Paymaster-General."

The purport of this document I understand to be to deprive of the bounties promised them on their enlistment such United States soldiers as had the misfortune to be slaves before they were soldiers. And this order, combining dishonesty with ingratitude against a class of men who have done well by the United States and deserved well of them ever since the late war began, seems to have been given "by direction of the President" just about the time when he was calling upon the people to give thanks *because* "Righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people."

President Johnson's official action, of late, seems to have proceeded in utter disregard of the great truth to which he has paid the lip-service above reported. Take for example his aid to the appointment of such men as the new Governor of Mississippi. How, without such aid, could a General eminent in the rebel service have become the Governor of a State now wishing to obtain credit for loyalty? A State which asks for restoration without acknowledging penitence, and only as a means towards the recovery of certain loaves and fishes forfeited by rebellion, might well be desired to wait, and to show fruits meet for repentance; especially by an Executive who signalized his entrance upon office with the declaration that treason was a crime, and that traitors must be punished. When such a State, allowed full liberty of action, "as an experiment," proceeds to choose as its chief magistrate one whose antecedents represent rebellion and not loyalty, ought not this to show the President that a check upon such proceedings is necessary? What, then, are we to say when the new Governor proceeds to set forth, as the permanent policy of his State, a plan coming as near as circumstances will possibly permit to that slavery which produced the rebellion; and when President Johnson not only permits this policy but favors it?

In the inaugural address of Governor Humphreys of Mississippi the doctrine of the "white man's government," is not only distinct but emphatic. Plainly stating that the abolition of slavery in that State has been without the consent or the willingness of the white people, he represents that so much of their loss must necessarily be submitted to; and then he proceeds to suggest a course of policy by which the white people of that State may reëstablish a permanent ascendency and predominance over the blacks, reviving the spirit of slavery and perpetuating some of its worst tendencies after its form has been abolished, and giving to the white rebels of Mississippi a permanent civil and political status above its black loyalists! He affirms that the negroes are unfitted for political equality, and that the white race must now exercise a guardianship over them. The blacks, he says, "cannot be admitted to political or social equality with the white race;" adding that it must never be forgotten that "ours is and shall ever be a Government of white men." He proposes, as a matter of course, that the superior class shall compel the inferior to do the hardest and least agreeable portion of its work, and he upholds the employer's right to the enforcement of labor contracts and the return of fugitive laborers!

And this is the policy which President Johnson favors, not only in Mississippi but throughout the South. A committal of the black minority to the disposal of a majority holding sentiments like these, seems to be not his experiment but his purpose.

It would seem the dictate of common sense that, in the coming reconstruction, we should take special precaution against two things—the spirit of disloyalty and the spirit of slavery. Of course we cannot control the wishes of men; but one thing we can do, and ought to do. Having conquered the South, and gained the power of deciding whether, and when, and how, she may return to participation in State and National government, we should refrain from restoring that power to persons obviously cherishing either the spirit of rebellion or the spirit of slavery. President Johnson's method of reconstruction seems, as far as we can now judge of it, to ignore and disregard both these points. The persons whom he pardons and restores to power are sorry for nothing but that they have been defeated. They regret the failure alike of secession and slavery. The States lately in secession still choose as rulers the very men that have led them into disaster and ruin. These States, by their whole conduct since Lee surrendered and Davis ran away, show that they are not fit for self-government. The best thing that can happen to them at present is to *be* governed. And this process should last until a majority of their people acquire intelligence enough to understand the advantage of giving human beings their rights, and combining with all their fellow-citizens in some plan which shall include the welfare of all. President Johnson requires from them no such spirit and no such purpose. He accepts, as if they had actual value, the oaths which dishonest men take as indispensable means to an end; and he seems entirely regardless of the fact that the loyal negroes of the Southern States are fast coming under the control of men who hate them alike for their loyalty and for their freedom, and who are even now proceeding to throw around them as many as possible of the disabilities and restrictions which accompanied their former state of slavery.

Our State Police Force in Boston are now entering upon a new department of official labor, the enforcement of the Sunday laws. Our statute-book, among other things upon this subject, provides that "Whoever keeps open his shop, warehouse or workhouse, or does any manner of labor, business or work.....on the Lord's day, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding fifty dollors for every offence." The Constable of the Commonwealth has lately undertaken to stop some of the acts that have been customary here in violation of this law.

His special order upon this subject, published in the newspapers, and distributed by way of warning at the shops in question, sets forth that the laws forbidding Sunday work and trade have not been dead but only sleeping, and that the police purpose now to enforce them. He therefore warns the persons who have heretofore been accustomed to violate this statute; namely, the keepers of oyster saloons, bar-rooms, restaurants, cigar stores and barber-shops, and also those apothecaries who sell soda-water, cigars and tobacco, toilet and fancy articles, perfumery, confectionary, spirituous liquors and the like, that obedience to the law will hereafter be required of them.

Thus far the Constable of the Commonwealth has proceeded strictly according to the letter of the law. But afterwards, in the same special order he takes upon himself, very strangely, the function of a dispenser of indulgences.

After letting apothecaries know that they are not restricted from the sale of medicines proper, and allowing the keepers of eating-houses to give a certain amount of accommodation to their "regular boarders," the Constable of the Commonwealth proceeds, on his own authority, to allow barbers' shops, and periodical stores for the sale of newspapers to do business on Sundays until 10 a. m.

This method of administering the Sunday laws would hardly have pleased the Puritans who originally enacted them. It remains to be seen whereunto this will grow; and whether the Sunday traders will not carry their point by Yankee luck or creek of some sort, as the rumsellers have hitherto done. We may remark, however, in leaving the subject, that the Constable of the Commonwealth has high example to authorize his use of the dispensing or pardoning power. Why should he fear to give indulgences, even in disregard of the inspiring motive and purpose of the law, when the Executive of the whole nation does the same to the delinquents that pass under his hands? The President's Thanksgiving Proclamation claims that we have gained "a great enlargement of civil liberty." We did indeed gain this, not by the voluntary act of any ruler, but through that "military necessity" which Abraham Lincoln alleged as the sole ground of his Emancipation Proclamation. Slavery, thanks to that persistency of the rebels which brought upon us this "military necessity," is nearly gone; but if some power does not stop Andrew Johnson from giving to the white people of the South the amplest opportunities they could ask for controlling and restricting the civil rights of the negroes, freedom, as far as the latter are concerned, will soon be gone too.

NORTH.

SOUTHERN METHODISTS—BY AN ENGLISHMAN.

LETTER FROM GEN. T. PERBONET THOMPSON.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—The organs of slavery in England report with apparent glee, that the Methodists in the Southern States have refused to enter into church-fellowship with those of the Northern.

Leave is taken to doubt whether there ever were any Methodists in the South.

After the great founder had set out with describing slavery as the sum of all "villanies," how were Methodists to be made out of those who gloried in being a portion of the villains?

It is as if the people who sacrificed children to Moloch had sent to Moses and Aaron declining to enter into church fellowship.

Do not the decliners know, to keep to the ecclesiastical part of the question, that the party in whose favor they now decline, cut off their slaves from God's ordinance of marriage, thus forcing God's image cut in ebony to live like the beasts of the field, and then they were to be abused for giving in to concubinage and polygamy? And as for reading God's word, it was made a civil offence to take any steps towards the teaching of it. And this is what the sons of Belial who have the impudence to call themselves Methodists, to deceive if possible even the elect, are struggling to support or save a fragment of, in hopes of some day returning to the full-blown blasphemy of right divine in their fountain of all uncleanness. Do they think the real Methodists will meet in class with them, or give any man a ticket who is known to hide this wickedness under his tongue? There is a solemn direction to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, for it is a shame even to speak of the things which are done of them in no secret at all. It would be for the credit of the English Methodists, who are the elder brethren of the household, if they came out, as they are well able, with the spirit of their founder they inherit. They should at least do like Mr. A——, of B—— Square, when he advertises in the newspapers that Mr. A——, of B—— Square is no relation to the Mr. A—— who was committed for pocket-picking.

It is of the more consequence, because through the inherent defects of the American form of government, there is every appearance just now of great danger that all which the country has fought and given its children for, is to be given up to the enemy in a way that could not be equalled by the most foolish deeds of the most foolish king that Europe has produced. The popular appetite for power was flattered by the idea of a chief of the state to be appointed by popular election; and they forgot to make him responsible to a parliament every hour in the day through his ministers. And the end is, that arbitrary power greater than is left with any European despot, is found in the hands of "the accident of an accident," and he is at full liberty to bargain for what he calls a peace, by offering all the fruits of victory to the enemy. And this he backs up by measures copied from the worst of Europe's ministers, ejecting as fast as able from the public service all who were likely to prevent.

Friends in America, down-fallen as they are, say something about a hope that all this is only an experiment, and on its failure something else is to be tried. Would not anybody with the average sense and honesty of a Church-warden, have settled what was and was not to be given up to the conquering party, before he began to amuse himself with experiments?

T. PERBONET THOMPSON.

"WHAT IS IT?"

NEW YORK, Oct. 24th, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—Barnum had his wonderful "What is it?" Can the Republicans tell what they have in their nest? Is Mr. Johnson a veritable Copperhead, or what is he? He declares he belongs to the "white man's party"—hence we see Copperheads in his name dragging their forms into the Republican nest—a nest, by the way, unclean enough before.

Barnum's "happy family" is not a circumstance Those satanic creatures who should, according to Gen. Washington's plan, be making their way to heaven through Nova Scotia, lift their beatified heads and say, "Mr. Johnson is a good enough President for us." Why should he not be? But why, Messrs. Greeley and Wilson, should the Republicans stultify themselves with the idea that he is their friend? Well may the special American correspondent of the London *News* represent him as "playing a Southern game, and as giving the South more than they ever hoped or asked for."

He says he belongs to the *white* man's party. Is there a Union man so green as not to know which party that is? Who ever heard any but a Copperhead use that kind of slang?

It was a sorry day for the Union party when they nominated Andrew Johnson for Vice-President. Most truly do you say, the Administration are verifying the assertion of the Chicago Convention—"the war *is* a failure."—Slavery is abolished, say they. If making the condition of the slave, if possible worse than before, be a gain, I have yet to see it. The slave States may for the time being, alter their code just enough to get back into the Union,—but how long will it take a secession legislature to prove every negro guilty of some crime? Where there is a will, there is a way. Washington once said, "put none but Americans on guard to-night." Does Mr. Johnson say, put none but true loyal Union men on guard? No, but he is throwing the doors wide open to *his* white man's party. They come reluctantly and only so far as they can see the way clear to rule us again. How did they rule us under the Buchanan dynasty? And now, with their bitterness, and rage ten-fold intensified, how will they rule us in future? Who will pay the late war expenses then? Which will be quoted the highest in England, Seven-Thirties, or Confederate bonds? I ask for information.

When the fifteen slave States (being a unit) come into Congress with their one hundred Representatives and thirty Senators, where is the man simple enough to believe that their allies, the Northern Democracy, cannot and will not command force enough to overpower the Republicans? Where are you then, Messrs. Republicans? Would it not have been better to let the only *real* Union man of the South vote, even if his skin was not quite as white as yours? Oh, what wicked—disgraceful folly! If Mr. Johnson is another John Tyler, throw him overboard. Let John Van Buren have him; don't try to out-general the Copperheads in subserviency to a man you know has sold you out—by so doing, you only degrade yourselves, and bring ruin on the country.

SAVILION HALEY.

GAIN AND GODLINESS.—The London *Times* does a large business in advertisements like this:

CLERICAL.—For sale, the next presentation to a rectory, well situate for railway and market convenience. Nice country, and society good. Modern house, with early possession. Income £1,600 a year. Population 2,000. Apply to Mr. W Humphries, No. 32 Sackville street.

CONSIDERABLE excitement exists in the town of Danvers, Massachusetts, consequent upon the discovery in their coal bins, by a number of families, of several torpedoes. A Mrs. Lord discovered the first one, by its explosion in her range, which burst with terrific force. How they got into the coal bins is the present mystery.

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGROES.

MISSISSIPPI.

INAUGURAL OF THE GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

GOV. HUMPHREYS, of Mississippi, delivered his inaugural address on the 16th Oct:

The State of Mississippi has already, under the pressure of the result of the war, by her own solemn act, abolished slavery. It would be hypocritical and unprofitable to attempt to persuade the world that she has done so willingly. It is due, however, to her honor, to show by her future course that she has done so in good faith, and that slavery shall never again exist within her borders, under whatsoever name or guise it may be attempted. The sudden emancipation of her slaves has devolved upon her the highest responsibilities and duties. Several hundred thousand of the negro race, unfitted for political equality with the white race, have been turned loose upon society; and in the guardianship she may assume over this race, she must deal justly with them, and protect them in all their rights of person and property. The highest degree of elevation in the scale of civilization to which they are capable, morally and intellectually, must be secured to them by their education and religious training; *but they cannot be admitted to political or social equality with the white race.* It is due to ourselves—to the white emigrant invited to our shores—and it should never be forgotten—to maintain the fact that *ours is and shall ever be a Government of white men.* The purity and progress of both races require that caste must be maintained, and intermarriage between the races be forbidden. *Miscegenation must be the work and taste of other climes and other "people."*

To work is the law of God, and is the only certain protection against pauperism and crime of both races. The negro is peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of the great staples of the South. He should be encouraged to engage at once in their production, by assurances of protection against the avarice, cupidity and injustice of his employer. He is free to choose his labor and to make his own bargain. But he should be required to choose *some* employment that will insure the maintenance of himself and family. On the other hand, the employer must be assured that the labor contracted for will be specifically performed. The labor contracted for of the great staples of the South requires continuous labor from January to January. The planter cannot venture upon their cultivation unless the laborer is compelled to comply with his contract; remaining and performing his proper amount of labor, day after day, and week after week, through the whole year; and if he attempts to escape, he should be returned to his employer, and *forced* to work until the time for which he has contracted has expired. By such a system of labor, the welfare and happiness of the African may be secured, the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the State sustained, and our homes again become the abode of plenty.

In the civil war just closed, the troops that responded to the call and command of Mississippi have signalized all those high qualities that adorn the character of the soldier. By their valor, courage and heroic constancy, whether in camp, or on the march, or amidst the carnage of the battle-field, they have *sustained her honor and glory, and made her name immortal.* Many have returned to ruined homes and fortunes. Others have fallen upon the battle-field, or have been maimed or disabled for life. Many of them, and their families, and the widows and orphans of the dead, are in a state of destitution. The Federal Government has magnanimously thrown over the rebel soldier the mantle of oblivion for the past—*but no pension from its coffers awaits him or his family—no "homestead" from its vast territory invites him to comfort and repose. To Mississippi alone can he look for assistance.* Whether it was right or wrong to call the soldiers to arms, it cannot be wrong to make such provisions for them as will relieve them and their families from want and suffering, and secure to their children the means of education. Justice and gratitude demand it. Honor and magnanimity will bestow it.

THE FREEDMEN AND THE BUREAU.

Advices from Mississippi, received at the Freedmen's Bureau, represent an unsatisfactory condition of affairs relative to the freedmen in that State. Notwithstanding the proclamation of the Governor, directing the admission of negro testimony, many of the Courts still absolutely refuse to receive their depositions. The teachers for freedmen, sent out by benevolent societies at the North, are arriving, but distrust the State officials, and are forming for their own personal safety. They deem it judicious to close their schools on the withdrawal of our troops from the region in which they are located.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The following is from the conservative correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser:*

THE COLORED MAN'S CONDITION IN EASTERN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The negro's prospects for the winter are not flattering. The situation is already against him, and the Presidential order under which Gen. Howard is now here is full of evil and woeful portent.

Between Wilmington and this city I had opportunity to see many intelligent "fellows," as the workingmen are invariably called by the planters. The first complaint of all the whites is that the negroes will not work, that they are constantly violating their contracts, etc., etc. I asked the "fellows" about this. "Well, you see, boss," said one of them, "de fust dif'culty about de matter be dis yer—we gits no meat, and the secon' is dat we gets de fum-tyin' [thumb-tying] too much." The whole case was epigrammatically stated in that sentence.

While we stopped a couple of hours at one station on the railroad for water, I strolled off to the house of a planter who had a dozen "fellows" and as many more women and children on his place. Men and women were at work in the corn field, and he was smoking in his piazza—everything in the nature of a porch being called a "piazza." He received me courteously enough, and asked me to "have a pipe," which I declined. "Did I come up from the keers?" he inquired. I told him I did. He had heerd, he said, that the keers was in some trouble—"pears like they are in trouble most every day," he continued; "my neegurs is allus stoppin' in their work to run off and see what's the matter with 'em." That launched him into the usual stream. "Know much about neegurs, mister?" he queried. I told him I had never lived in the South. "Wa'll then, mister, ye don't know much about 'em." And he proceeded to enlighten me at some length. Incidentally I asked him how he fed them—"Corn and rice and such game as they can git," he said. Afterwards, while speaking on general subjects, I asked if there was much meat to be had for the white families. "O, yes," he replied, "right smart 'o meat yerabouts." Still later in the conversation I remarked "I believe you said you don't give the negroes much meat." "Jes so, mister—don't give neegurs bacon this year like we used to." "Why so?" said I; "I believe you said there was right smart of it in the country." He seemed a little puzzled at the turn of conversation, and suddenly "called to mind" that he had an engagement with a neighbor at about that hour. He invited me to walk with him, and also invited me to "turn in and lie out with us" if I ever came through the country.

At Florence I found a most intelligent negro carpenter who lived three miles out of town, but came in every day to his work. He had been travelling through the district lately—in connection with the league, I judged. "What is the real cause of trouble between the plantation negroes and their employers?" said I. "Well, sah," he answered, "there's a many masters as wants to git de colored peoples away, ye see; an' dey's got de contrac's, an' dey can't do it, ye see, lawful; so dey 'buses 'dem, an' jerks 'em up by de two fums, an' don't give 'em de bacon, an' calls on 'em to do work in de night time an' Sunday, till de colored people dey gits oneasy an' goes off."

In the cars, between the Santee and this city, I asked a man who was loudly complaining about his "niggers" if the planters generally gave their hands full allowance of bacon this fall. "Many of 'em don't give out any at all," said he, somewhat snappishly. So, too, while we lunched at the river, I asked of a countryman who got on at Kingstree, "I suppose now you give your negroes better meat than this?" alluding to some on the table. "Havn't guv 'em any at all fur nigh on two months." "How's that?" said I; "I don't see how you get much work out of them unless you feed them meat." He answered that there wasn't much in the country, and that the contracts didn't bind them to give the negroes meat. And so, too, the man on whose left I sat at dinner at the hotel to-day told his neighbor on the right of a row he had been having with the officers of his district about giving meat to his negroes; "an' he said I must let 'em have it twice a week," he remarked in conclusion.

A man who got on the cars at Marion "lowed" he had been in jail for "whippin' a nigger—bin in fifteen days, sir; was there ever such a d—d outrage?" he exclaimed. No one disputing him, he went on to say, "But I larnt a trick wuth two o' his'n," alluding, I suppose, to the officer who sent him to jail. "I jest stringe 'em up by the thumbs for 'bout half an hour, an' then they are d—d glad to go to work." Another man whom I saw in the contract office at Florence had strung a woman up by the thumbs, and also whipped her—for which he also went to jail.

I infer from all I saw and heard while in the northeastern section, that the negroes at work in the pines are more contented than those on plantations anywhere in the State. There is more variety in the turpentine and roan business than in cotton growing; and though the work may be harder for one or two days in any given week, there are other days on which there is very little to do. The yield of rosin this season will be very small.

RESTORING THE SEA ISLANDS TO REBEL CLAIMANTS.

The Presidental Order, No. 145 of the War Department series, produces great chuckling among the rebellious portion of this community, and much anxiety among those who are known as the friends of the freedmen. That the original intention of Government in setting apart the Sea Islands, through Gen. Sherman's order, for the use and occupancy of the freedmen, was to either give or sell them to the freedmen I sincerely believe. That the negroes were allowed to receive the impression that this was the purpose of the Government, is beyond all question. That Gen. Saxton colonized them in vast numbers on those islands with this understanding on his part and theirs, is matter of record. *If the faith of the nation was ever implicitly pledged to anything, it was to the assurance that the colored people should have a home there. If this Presidential order does not break that national pledge, then everybody in Charleston fails to see its scope.*

The ex-rebel owners of the islands are, of course, ready to promise anything—"earnestly soliciting the restoration of the same, and promising to absorb the labor and care of the freedmen," says the President. Yet I talked with one of these owners this forenoon who doesn't believe a free negro will work, who expects to have control of his land by Christmas or New Year's, and who is already devising ways to get rid of the negroes upon it. "Endeavor to effect an arrangement mutually satisfactory to the freedmen and the land owners," says the order; yet everybody here understands that the islands are to be given up any how. The city property of the most virulent rebels is being restored to them as fast as possible under executive orders; and the common conclusion of all classes that Gen. Howard *must find* a "satisfactory arrangement" is held to be justified by the action in respect to other property. *In a word, the interpretation of the order is that he is to make the best terms he can for the freedmen, and then surrender the islands to their former owners.* If anything better than this results from his mission the people of Charleston will have a new grievance; and the freedman and his resident friends a new cause for rejoicing, and for thankfulness to Him whose promises are yea and amen unto all men. DIXON.

TENNESSEE.

SUFFRAGE IN TENNESSEE.

It seems not impossible that the present law in Tennessee, which renders ineligible to vote so many white persons who participated in the rebellion, may be the means of introducing a qualified right of voting to the colored man. Mr. John Trimble has offered a bill in the General Assembly, which, besides restoring suffrage to the white population generally, provides that:

"Freemen of African and Indian descent, of the age of twenty-one years and upward, citizens of the United States and of the State of Tennessee, able to read and write, residing in the county wherein they may offer to vote six months next preceding the election, who were free previous to the 22d day of February, 1865, and colored soldiers who were enlisted in the United States army from the State of Tennessee, of good character or honorably discharged, also qualified as above stated, shall be entitled to vote in all public elections from and after the passage of this act. The rest of the negroes, freed by the amendment of the Constitution of the State of Tennessee of date 22d of February, 1865, and free from said date, citizens of the United States and State of Tennessee, able to read and write, and residing in the counties as above, shall be entitled to vote only from and after the 22d of February, 1875."

KENTUCKY.

In the small city of Lexington there are now five black schools, all in a flourishing condition, and all supported by the blacks out of their own pockets, from which also come taxes for the support of white schools, not open, of course, to the payers. According to the whole number of children, there is a larger proportion of black than of white scholars in the city. Not a single negro is fed by the Government, while not a day passes that white people do not apply for Government rations.

REBEL CLERGYMEN.

GOVERNMENTAL reunion hardly keeps pace with Church achievements in that direction. Of the harmony likely to attend such hurried-up action, it is not hard to predict, knowing the elements that are to be fused together. For instance: the Episcopal Convention in Philadelphia solemnly consecrated Bishop Quintard of Tennessee on the 16th instant.

A layman of our Church, says the *Christian Times*, who was at the beginning of the war a member of the Tennessee Legislature, and present in Nashville, states that the Rev. Mr. Quintard was one of the most prominent and active men in that city in fomenting the rebellion, and promoting the work of raising and arming troops against the United States Government. A clergyman of our Church who has been connected with the diocese of Tennessee for twenty years, writes that "Mr. Quintard early entered the Southern army as chaplain, and was with the army, following and sharing its fortunes, until the rebellion was crushed." Another clergyman of the same diocese says that Mr. Quintard admitted that he was for a time an aide-de-camp on Gen. Lovell's staff, and so was actually *in the military service of the rebel government.* These men are greatly astonished at the letter which Mr. Quintard has written to Gen. Thomas; and one of them writes to us, that the effect of the elevation of this man "to the episcopal office in this diocese would be particularly unhappy in East Tennessee. Such is the intense feeling of loyalty here with the majority of the people, that a bishop with his antecedents would be very obnoxious to them, and tend to prevent rather than promote the growth of the Episcopal Church in this region."

The delegates from East Tennessee, both clerical and lay, voted against Mr. Quintard in the Diocesan Convention.

A correspondent of the St. Louis *Democrat* gives the following sketches of some of the Methodist clergy in Missouri. The writer says that in the Conference (Methodist,) the question was asked, "where are the preachers?" For several of them, he answered thus:

"Rev. Green Woods, the presiding elder, made speeches in behalf of secession, helped to get up the first rebel flag that ever disgraced Texas county, went into the brush when the war came on, and was there shot by United States soldiers who came from Kansas.

"Rev. Mr. Smith, circuit preacher, was commander of a gang of bushwhackers, and was killed in a skirmish with United States troops in Dent county.

"Rev. Mr. Earnest, circuit preacher, was one of a band that was routed by the Franklin county Home Guards in the beginning of the war, and the last that was seen of him in this section, he was running from his church with two guns on his shoulder; one of which he procured by robbing a citizen.

"Rev. I. Miscel Johnson, circuit preacher, was notorious as being the leader of robbers. He robbed the immense stores of Murphy & McChirg at Linn Creek. He was afterwards promoted to a rebel colonel, never did much fighting, and has retired to Illinois, where I suppose he is in good circumstances.

"Rev. Mr. Bradley went from here to the rebel army, and his securities paid his debts.

"Rev. E. B. Headlee assisted E. Y. Mitchell and Ham. Lenox when they were organizing rebel bands. It is said that he went through the State last year with Price, and caused his father-in-law to be killed.

"Rev. John Headlee seems to have concluded that he was already in Dixie, as he at one time published in a notice posted up at Big River Mills, Missouri, that he would preach a sermon on that day 'set apart by President Davis for fasting and prayer.' He afterwards took the oath of allegiance, and so cannot attend Southern Methodist 'Conferences' without a violation of said oath.

"Rev. G. Powell went into the rebel army with Miscel Johnson—has returned without his 'rights,' and being paroled, cannot with consistency attend such conferences. But his brother, Ferris W., did not go South, so he can take the oath and preach in New Madrid circuit.

"In South Missouri the Southern Methodist Church recruited nearly as many for the rebel army as did the Missouri *Republican* newspaper, and the influence of the two in concert did it all. Even the rebel Gen. J. H. McBride remained quiet for a long time, while the Southern Methodist preachers were urging secession; and now show me a loyal man who is a Southern Methodist, and I will show you a crazy man or a simpleton."

BAPTISTS IN MISSOURI.—The *Examiner and Chronicle* says, that in 1862 there were in the State of Missouri *forty-five* thousand Baptist communicants, (half as many as the State of New York numbers), 750 churches, 450 ordained ministers. And that now, so far as can be ascertained, there are not more than *fifty* loyal ministers, and perhaps *one hundred* churches. Scarcely an Association has held its annual meetings, and nearly all organized denominational life has perished.

DR. ROSS.—Dr. Ross, one of the staunchest advocates of slavery and rebellion, in his last article to the Charleston *Observer*, endeavored to show, says a correspondent of the *Evangelist*, "that it was *morally impossible for God to restore the Union*—as impossible as that the Almighty should lie or repent."

The Presbyterian Synod of Virginia, in session at Lynchburg, Va., last Saturday, unanimously adopted a resolution in favor of maintaining a separate church organization in Virginia.

A Georgia exchange says that many of the leading Methodist clergymen of that State, in consequence of the hostility still manifested by the Northern churches of that denomination toward their brethren at the South, have made overtures to be united ecclesiastically with the Episcopalians, who manifestly desire a union distinct from that of the "vulture and the lamb."

WHOLESALE MUSTERING OUT OF COLORED TROOPS.—The following was last week issued from the War Department:

List of volunteers who have been ordered to be mustered out, not included in previous circulars:

U. S. COLORED TROOPS.—Infantry—2d, 3d, 8th, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 28th, 29th, 31st, 41st, 42d, 43d, 45th, 73d, 74th, 77th, 106th, 123d, 124th, 127th, 135th; one company of pioneers. Artillery—13th Heavy.

NOTE.—73d infantry has been heretofore reported consolidated with 96th U. S. Colored Troops. 77th Infantry heretofore reported consolidated with 10th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery. 106th Infantry 40th U. S. Colored Troops.

THE RIGHT RING FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

THE Worcester Freedom Club in the month of August last gave the following note of warning:

That as a body of New England citizens untrammelled by party, but vigilant for the welfare of our common country, we observe with great anxiety the multiplying signs of an intended coalition on the part of the Democracy (falsely so called) with the present national Administration in what they (the Democracy) term "it's avowed policy" of reconstruction, and of re-admission into the Union of States lately in rebellion, without the guarantee of suffrage to the black man, and leaving it optional with recent slaveholding rebels to give or refuse to loyal freedmen the American citizen's right of the ballot.

Resolved, That the experience of the past should warn leading Republicans that the *Tylerization* of their party, and its virtual betrayal into the hands of the twice-beaten Democratic party, so far from being an impossibility, is the most practicable and tempting method of lifting the pro-slavery Democracy again into power.

Resolved, That the *National security of suffrage to the black man throughout the entire South* is the only sure means of restoring and maintaining the Union of these United States, as well as of preventing the late slaveholding section of the country, with the political power again in the hands of its old masters, from uniting with it as heretofore, the friendly Northern Democracy, and securing their co-operation in the demand for a national adoption of the debt of the late rebel Confederacy, —or its equivalent,—the payment from the national treasury of the money value of all the freedmen—*a measure, the mere agitation of which is certain to depreciate the value, if not to hazard the repudiation of the bonds representing the present debt.*

In view of late events and the present aspect of public sentiment and affairs the same Body has just made the following timely pronunciation:

Resolved, That disgraced and mortified as New England is by the attitude lately assumed toward the black man by the State of Connecticut, we do but speak the overwhelming sense of loyal Massachusetts when we say that as a portion of "the people of the United States by whose authority the Federal Constitution is ordained and established as the supreme law of the land," and holding, under that constitution, the protective right of suffrage, we will never consent that any other loyal portion of "the people of the United States" under the same constitution shall be denied that same constitutional protection of the ballot, still less so intensely loyal a people as the nation's black men of the States lately in rebellion.

Resolved, That the injustice and deceit of that part of the recent "platforms of the Democracy" should be made transparent to the country at large, in which, while it is asserted that the ballot is the right of every American citizen, care is taken to allow the late slaveholding States to restrict the right of suffrage to their white citizens, under the deceitful phraseology "that the constitution recognizes the right of the people of each State to prescribe the qualifications of electors," thus *breaking the plighted faith of the nation to its loyal black men and denying them the protection of citizenship.*

Resolved, That we trust no politic manipulation of the powers that be at Washington, nor any adroit pretexts of cunning politicians in the interest of Democracy and defeated rebellion, will be allowed to placate the approaching Congress into consenting to the admission of representatives or senators from any State lately in rebellion, whose constitution does not secure the equality of all men before the law, and the fundamental condition of a common participation, on equal terms, of its loyal black and white citizens in the elective franchise.

WHICH CLASS SHALL VOTE?—Hon. James L. Orr, of South Carolina, formerly Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives, said in the South Carolina Reconstruction Convention:

"The North has conquered us, and has a perfect right to fix the terms of our restoration to civil and political rights."

The special to the *Herald* says:

"Adjt.-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas reports that the State of Mississippi alone is credited with having furnished upwards of seventy-nine thousand negroes and one thousand whites to command them. They are represented to have been raised during the years 1863 and 1864, for service during the war."

Since we have a right to fix the terms of the restoration of the Southern people to their political rights, is it cruel to say that they shall all be restored to their political rights at once, both those who lost them by slavery without any fault of their own and those who lost them by their own treason? Especially, is it hard that that class of the people of Mississippi which has furnished 79,000 men to defend the Union should have the same rights as the class which has furnished but one thousand to fight for the Union, nearly all from other States, and nearly a hundred thousand for the rebellion?—*Chicago Tribune.*

THE CHOLERA.—A letter from Constantinople to the *Evening Post*, dated Sept. 14, contains some important facts in regard to the cholera in that city. It says:

"Many private individuals used medicines with which to cure the disease in its first stage, and almost always with success everywhere. It is a pleasure to mention the American missionaries established at Constantinople. They devoted themselves to the benefit of the poor with the most commendable zeal and self-sacrifice. In some cases mixtures of laudanum, rhubarb, and camphor, with sometimes a few drops of peppermint, had the effect of checking the diarrhœa and vomiting, and warm applications and careful diet finished the cure. With difficulty, however, could the lower classes be induced to adopt a healthy regimen and abstain from living, as usual, entirely on vegetables and fruits, the latter too often unripe. The government eventually had to prevent the introduction and sale of those in the capital."

What we have heard so often said is here repeated, and we commend it to the attention of all:

"Cleanliness and a careful regimen proved to be the best prophylactics, and *timely remedies applied to the sick rarely failed to arrest the disease.* It has been followed by frequent cases of fever and ague, and even by typhus; but these also are subsiding as the cooler season sets in. During its prevalence the weather was mostly calm and unusually hot, though rarely so warm as the climate of New York in summer. The thermometer averaged eighty and eighty-five in the shade, and from this to ninety and ninety-four in the sun. With northerly breezes a considerable diminution of the epidemic was perceptible."

SOUTHERN ITEMS.—It is stated that Gen. Terry had a long interview with the President on Thursday, in reference to affairs in Virginia, and that he agrees with Secretary Stanton in opposing the withdrawal of the Union troops from that State, while Gov. Pierpont insists that their withdrawal is essential to the promotion of amicable relations. The freedmen want the troops to remain, and their instinct is pretty reliable in a matter of so much consequence to them. A Washington dispatch to the Boston *Journal* says that letters are received from original Union men in the South, expressing fear for their own safety as well as the safety of the Government. A citizen of New Orleans writes that unless Beauregard's men are disfranchised and the negroes allowed to vote, he and all other men suspected of loyalty will be driven from Louisiana. Another letter says that Gov. Wells' paper, the Southern *Star*, has openly threatened the universal suffrage committee with popular vengeance.

STUDIOUS FREEDMEN.—The Houston (Texas) *Telegraph* says: "More than half the spelling books now sold in Houston go into the hands of negroes. Several schools for colored persons are now in operation here and in Galveston. Many planters buy a stock of school books for the schools already not unfrequent upon the plantations. The Galveston *News* has the following: "We saw a planter in town yesterday buying a large lot of books for his freedmen. It is his purpose to establish a Sunday-school and night-school for them, and also to have them taught on Saturday and Wednesday afternoons. This is the right spirit. We are glad to see it prevailing in one manifestation or another to a very large extent. Nothing should be done to alienate our former slaves, but everything to conciliate and elevate them. They are worthy of philanthropic efforts—their situation in our midst forms a test of our own character. Oppression or neglect of them will demoralize us and our children; the right treatment of them will be twice blessed. Exhortation on this subject is unnecessary, however, as the whites are certainly too wise and humane to permit such a field of duty and privilege to remain uncultivated."

WALL STREET OPERATIONS.—What a commentary upon Wall street operations is suggested when it is remembered that because Commodore Vanderbilt was chucked out of his wagon the other day, a sudden rush was made by the brokers down town to unload Hudson River and other stocks in which Vanderbilt holds a large interest. Even poor old Harlem was resurrected, for the first time in months, and pressed for sale. One frightened Jew despairingly offered a thousand shares of Hudson River stock and actually sold it at a decline of nearly two per cent. from the previous hour's quotation. Just such a foundation is the Wall street speculation built upon. If "Old Drew" comes round the corner, Erie must go up or down one or two per cent. If Vanderbilt seems likely to turn his toes up, down drops every stock with which he is supposed to exercise his battledore. And so on *ad infinitum.* "What shadows we are and by what shadows we are pursued" ought to be the motto in marble over the door of the new bulls' and bears' den on Broad street.—*Cor. Boston Post.*

SOUTH CAROLINA.—*Charleston, Oct. 26.*—The Masons of the North are about receiving a distinguished committee from the capital of South Carolina. The Masonic fraternity of Columbia have chosen Brothers William Gillmore Simms and Robert Brunno as commissioners to represent to their northern brethren the distressed and prostrate condition of the lodges of Columbia. They were numerous, strong, powerful and active working implements of the Order, but all have been destroyed, and they are generally in as helpless a condition as the people at large. The brotherhood, it is hoped, will welcome these commissioners with open hand. They proceed to New York in the steamer Moneka on Thursday, having obtained the freedom of the cars from the officers of the various railroads and of the steamer from Messrs. Wills and Chisholm, of the People's Line.

HALLS AND ORGANS.—A writer in the *Examiner and Chronicle*, comparing the great halls of Liverpool with those of Boston, says: "While Tremont Temple and Music Hall have not the architectural grandeur and richness of St. George's, they probably quite equal it for practical purposes, the one as an auditorium, and the other for giving effect to music. St. George's boasts of an organ *not inferior* to the Boston organ. I have not heard either, and had I, could not decide upon their comparative mer

Miscellaneous Department.

HYMN.

BY F. B. SANBORN.

Sung at the Norfolk Agricultural Exhibition, Dedham, Sept. 29, 1865.

No more we reap the bloody field
Where war his horrid furrow tears
But harmless fruit our labors yield,
And earth unstained her bosom bears.

On Northern hills the ripened ear
Bursts early through its husky sheath;
Betimes the bounty of the year
Has graced the vales and plains beneath.

Thus, kindly nature hastes apace
To hide the mournful Past from view;
Can Sorrow keep her ancient place
When every season blossoms new?

And never season smiled so fair
As this that sees our Country free;
For mercies asked in anxious prayer
Shall thanks arise, O God, to Thee!

Thanks for the harvest of our hands,
And every skilful labor wrought—
But solemn praise from peaceful lands
For nobler gifts Thy love hath brought!

For now shall Freemen guide the plough,
The hammer wield, the shuttle ply,
And Toil shall be the sovereign now,
Where'er our conquering Eagles fly.

WRITING FOR PERIODICALS.

From Dickens's All the Year Round.

It is curious that, although periodical literature is almost the daily bread of millions, the popular mind should still be so ignorant of many of the particulars of its production.

In the first place, it is supposed to be the simplest thing in the world. The writers, the editors, and the publishers, have no more trouble in sending it out, than the subscriber has in taking it in from the postman. It is the spontaneous growth of progressing time. It comes as regularly and naturally as Saturday and Sunday. Like the ceaseless rivers, the beds are there, and the water has nothing to do but to flow. As certainly as sunrise is the consequence of sunset; as surely as the old worn-out moon is followed by a bright bran new one; so surely is to-day's, this week's, this month's number succeeded by to-morrow's, next week's, next month's; while the Quarterlies come out in their variously tinted covers as inevitably as summer pushes spring overboard, and Winter treads on Autumn's heels. If you wish to realize how quickly time flies, put your name to a bill, or look at the periodicals accumulated on your book-shelves.

The same thoughtless feeling, or the same ignorance, exists on the other side of the Channel, as in England. Hard-working French citizens have little sympathy with the labors of artists and literary men—whom they consider an *idle* race. The idea, of course, is based on a misconception. With many folks, head-work does not pass for work, but merely for amusement. Turning a wheel, carrying a load, that indeed is really work. But to sit down in front of a quire of paper, and to write on it "all that comes into your head," is just the pastime of a person with nothing to do. It is equivalent to cards, backgammon, and amatory epistolary correspondence. George Stephenson going to bed in broad day-light, to solve in his head complicated engineering problems, and Rossini dashing off his operas in a similar recumbent position, would be alike included in the category of sluggards taking their ease in the Castle of Indolence. There are people who cannot understand that writing should be paid for; on the contrary, they think the writer should pay for the pleasure of seeing himself in print. The legends respecting Scribe, for instance, the great French dramatic author, received by the small Parisian bourgeoisie, would be amusing to collect and put on record. In the first place, many believed that he caused to be performed, in his own proper name, all the dramatic manuscripts that were left at his door. As to the handsome fortune he acquired, some persist in attributing its origin to gambling at the Bourse, or to speculations in land. "It is not by play, writing," observed a respectable shopkeeper, "that a man can earn three or four million francs; *for if he could, everybody else would do the same.*"

But if people who earn their bread, or increase their income, by literature and its sister arts, do not work, at least they suffer from the effects of work, as is proved in Tissot's excellent essay, *De la Santé des Gens de Lettres*. For he holds that the arrangement of a picture, or the composition of a grand piece of music, requires as strong a mental effort as the pursuit of the most abstract studies.

Their diseases, he says, have two principal causes: assiduous labor of the mind, and continual repose of the body. He quotes our English Adventurer, to the effect that "the multitude, who live by bodily labor, imagine that study does not fatigue. They are under a mistake. Thinking is work which fatigues no less than the artisan's or the laborer's toil, without having its advantages. The latter gives health, strength, cheerfulness, sound sleep, and a good appetite; whereas a studious and sedentary life produces exactly the contrary effects."

While thought goes on, the brain is in action. But every bodily organ, set in action, tires at last; and if the action be too long continued, its functions become deranged. When the mind, by protracted intellectual exercise, has impressed too energetic an action upon the brain, it is no longer mistress of its movements, and loses the power of stopping it. The persons who are the soonest put out of health by mental exertion, are those who are incessantly occupied with one single subject; only one portion of the sensorium is strained, and *that* is always in a state of tension. Over-exertion of the brain, moreover, causes a determination of blood to the head. I refrain from frightening the reader with a list of the diseases which are the result of leading a sedentary life. Over-activity of mind, combined with inactivity of body, is the cause of not a small proportion of the evils which learned, literary, and artistic flesh are heirs to.

"It is picking up money in the street," remarked a person who was present when I received a cheque for contributions to a periodical.

"Is it?" I said; then try to pick up a little yourself in the same way."

"I haven't the time. I have other things to attend to. It is not in my line. You have got into the way of it. You are on the editor's or the publisher's good books," and so on, are the usual rejoinders to the above reply; and a slight disillusion is frequently felt when the aspirant, hitherto a reader, thinks of writing. The manuscripts that have been shown for my opinion! Luckily, not multitudinous in number, but wonderful in quality. With neither head, tail, nor middle. Editors see more of those curiosities in a month than any isolated literary man can in a year. In vol. VII. of Household Words, page 145, is an article headed "H. W.," describing some of the machinery by which that journal was produced, and also a few of its correspondents' eccentricities. No doubt, in the dozen years which have since elapsed, such a stratum of oddities and absurdities must have been showered upon the conductors, that, if allowed to remain *in situ*, it would be thick enough to bury them out of sight.

When I have ventured to observe to intending contributors, "It is not usual to send in articles written in old copy-books between the round-text, nor on both sides of the paper, nor with all those manifest blunders, nor marked with blots, grease-spots, and the circular bottoms of pewter pint-pots——"

"It was a coffee-cup did that."

"Well, a coffee-cup. I don't say it wasn't. But suppose you first carefully look your paper through, correct every fault you discover, remedy the tautology and the mistakes in spelling, and then copy it out fairly and neatly, writing on one side of the paper only,—I will look at it again, and see how it promises."

A not uncommon answer is, that that sort of thing is a great deal too much trouble. It would seem that it really is intended to pick up money in the streets—for essayists of this class mostly expect to be handsomely paid. Voltaire might well call correcting other people's manuscripts "washing dirty linen."

This journal once returned to me an article in type, with the suggestion that, as it touched on *two* topics, it would be improved by being cut in two, and giving each portion a more developed treatment, so converting it into a couple of distinct and homogeneous treatises.

"Do they take so much pains with articles as that?" exclaimed a friend of some attainments, to whom I showed the slips.

"You see they do."

An article may be likened to a drawing. It may be either a mere sketch, or a finished picture. All the better if it can combine the accuracy of the photograph with the spirit of the study from nature; but the delineation of something must be there. The subject is the plain canvas on which the artist traces the outlines of his conception. The work grows. He brings out certain important features, while he throws others into the shade, or, perhaps, on second thoughts, suppresses them utterly! He avoids false perspective and inharmonious coloring. He puts everything in its proper place, and displays it in its proper light. When he is satisfied that it represents what he means, he passes over the whole the varnish of correct and polished style; and then it goes to the exhibition to be rejected by the hanging committee, or to throw the pictures beside it into the shade. This simile is chiefly applicable to narrative or descriptive papers.

We shall not be much further from the truth in comparing the writing of an argumentative or logical paper, to the construction of a machine intended to perform some work. When the whole is put together, we try it privately, find out where it hitches, lengthen this lever, tighten that screw, add a wheel here, extract a cog there, until we fully grind out our desired conclusion. With a little oil or anti-friction grease, the machinery is then fit for public service.

After a literary aspirant has taken every pains, and done all in his power to ensure success, let him not be discouraged by a first rebuff. *C'est le premier pas qui coûte.* He may find favor a *second* time; and so the second or third attempt may be his *premier pas*. Industry and perseverance have an effectual influence in literature, as well as in every other career of life. Most periodicals have their special character, which may render some given article (quite meritorious in itself) perfectly unsuitable for their acceptance. The first paper I sent to this journal was declined; the second published. With the exception of the *Quarterly Review* (with which topics were agreed upon before they were undertaken), I have not, I think, written for any journal which has not published something which some other journal had declined. One editor's poison may be another editor's meat. Two journals have, on second thoughts, published papers which they had themselves declined.

Then, again, there is a question of room. A certain number of pages, of a given type, can contain only a given quantity of matter. You cannot put a bushel of wheat, however first-rate in quality, into a peck measure. The superabundant quantity must remain outside. It can wait, you say, till the next measuring occurs; but how will you like the indefinite delay? And if the supply continue, what is to be done? Moreover, an editor must seize passing events by the forelock. An article, well-timed to-day, may have lost all its interest this day month. And thus a discussion of present occurrences may push aside a really superior essay possessing merely pure literary merits.

It is impossible to quite lose sight of the mercantile aspects of literature—of periodical literature especially. It must either pay, or must cease to exist. It is art; and its object is to instruct and elevate; but its agents and instruments must live. Even if a volunteer army of amateur contributors were forthcoming, paper-makers, printers, and publishers cannot afford to amuse and enlighten the nation gratis. The periodical must sell; that is, it must contain taking and attractive matter which the reading public will gladly purchase for copper or silver coin of the realm.

There is a class of beings of whose existence certain literary candidates do not seem to be aware. Still they are men of like feelings with ourselves, similarly constituted in all their limbs and organs. They have eyes like ours, only somewhat sharper, and fingers like ours, only quicker and nimbler. They have heads that can ache, when overworked, and tempers that can fret, when overtried. I mean compositors and printers' readers. A writer should surely have some thought of *them;* for it is solely through their mechanical agency that his lucubrations are given to the world. A writer, sitting at an open window in the country, may be indifferent as to the quality of his ink; knowing what he has written, *he* can read it, be it of the palest gray. But remembering that it has to be put in type by persons working in smoke-darkened cities, or often by gaslight, he will surely save all unnecessary strain of their eyesight, by employing no liquid that is not decidedly legibly black.

Of handwriting, it is more difficult to speak; it is a matter, often, of inveterate habit. Its defects are less easily corrected, being intimately connected with the penman's individuality.

Not a few eminent literary men have been eminently illegible penmen. Still, in practice, the inconvenience is less than might at first sight appear. The scrawls thrown off by hard-pressed journalists or editors fall into the hands of persons who are in the habit of deciphering them. Some editors do not pronounce their final judgment on the communications of well-known and tried contributors until they have perused them in type. It shows, however, the great importance of sending in a first essay in perfectly legible handwriting, even if it be necessary to employ a copyist. In the long run, the poor compositors are the greatest sufferers from illegibility. One great author was their notorious tormentor. What with the blurs, blots, and pot-hooks in his manuscript, and what with his interminable alterations, corrections, transpositions, and interpolations in the proof itself, the Paris printers stipulated not to have more than so many hours per day of Balzac.

And if the contributor feels bound to remember the compositor when he sends in his copy, what consideration ought he not to show in his dealings with the editor—with the man at the helm of a popular periodical?

The contributor may take his ease. He may wait for the fit of inspiration, or the whim of the moment, before putting pen to paper. If he sends in *no* article that week, or that month, he puts no great interest of his own in jeopardy. If he be idle, he misses earning a few guineas—of which he is well aware, and takes the consequences—and that is all. Unless he write leaders for the *Times*, or do other pressing, promptly-to-be-executed work, he need not even reside in town—unless he like it best. He may pitch his tent in pleasant places, on the brow of a cliff, or on the verge of a forest; in summer, aloft amidst the hills; in winter, below in sunny nooks. Even when close kept "on" a journal, he frequently gets a good annual holiday run or two. There are missions which may be pleasant as well as profitable. The editor, on the contrary, who has often not only the responsibility of, but often a heavy stake in his publication, is tied by a tether of very definite shortness. When London is empty, and respectable people are ashamed to be seen remaining in it, cabmen and editors cannot quit. September shines no holiday for them. The forthcoming number has to be made up, and subsequent numbers to be projected, provided for, and prepared. There are never-ceasing acceptances to be made, decisions arrived at, and refusals conveyed. And the correspondence? Have you any idea of an editor's correspondence?

Periodical writers will occasionally have to handle topics with which they are little familiar, exactly as barristers are liable to be called on to plead in causes of whose technical details they are completely ignorant. But some people hold that a person of education and literary habits ought to be able (with time and preparation) to speak and write on *any* subject. A writer, like a barrister, may take the trouble to get up his subject, "cramming" for it, in examination phrase, making himself acquainted with all the minutiæ of the matter in dispute, before addressing the court or the public. Each individual advocate may have his own particular method of working out the task before him. Not a bad plan is, first to get together all available evidence and information—bushels of books, packets of documents, plans, maps, drawings—not neglecting personal visits, inspection, and inquiry, should such be needed—and then mentally to digest the whole, applying to the work such common sense and acuteness as one happens to be gifted with. It will often happen that a fresh mind, exercising itself upon questions which, to it, are unfamiliar and unhackneyed, will see things from a clearer point of view than persons of older experience, to whom they are a matter of daily routine. And the result is, that several clever improvements in machinery have been made by lawyers, who never would have dreamt of such inventions had not the details been brought before them in the course of their professional duties.

In this branch of literature, it is quite a mistake to go to work on the "exhaustive" principle. In article-writing, as in extempore preaching, the great difficulty is to know when to stop. "How, with such a theme in hand, can you possibly limit yourself to four or five pages? You might write five hundred, and not have done with it," is a question I have frequently heard. But Voltaire exclaimed, "Woe be to the man who says about a subject all that *can* be said!" With printed discourse, as with personal companionship, it is better that your friend should regret the shortness of your visit than that he should yawn at its lengthiness.

Some few anxious candidates for the honors of type would gladly offer their manuscript gratis, so that it could but appear. They would, however, be no great gainers by yielding to the temptation of making that offer. Now that authorship has become a distinct and recognized profession, experienced editors find that contributions offered for nothing are worth no more than the value set upon them. A little consideration will make it clear that it is more to their interest to pay adequately for a well-written paper, than to publish a poor one without payment. It is upon the broadest basis of public favor, esteem, and respect, that a permanent prosperity can alone be founded; and those objects can only be attained by paying well the most capable writers whose abilities lie within the range of that particular periodical's scope. It may even be laid down as a general rule, that authors who may happen to be wealthy ought not to make a practice of writing for nothing; because by so doing, they would tend to take the bread out of the mouths of their professional brethren. They may do so occasionally—to oblige a dear friend, to perform an act of charity, or to return an obligation; which, in fact, is not writing for nothing.

LAUGHTER.

From the Saturday Review.

Nothing is more calculated at once to puzzle and to irritate the jovial part of mankind than the philosophy of laughter. It contrives at once to divest laughter of its mirth and to deprive the laugher of any honest appreciation of a joke. No toy ever stood worse an investigation into what it is made of. Pride, says one, is the origin of all laughter; you are stimulated by vanity, or by a sudden glory over the thing or person laughed at. Laughter, says another, is an affection arising from a sudden check or reverse to a strained imagination. This process, though by no means grateful to the understanding, does nevertheless, indirectly and for a moment, produce a certain lively gratification. Our expectations are baulked and suddenly vanish; hence a play of ideas, and this excites a play of the powers of life—an instantaneous removal of the mind from one subject to another, which is answered by a reciprocating contraction and dilation of the elastic parts of the viscera; and these being communicated to the diaphragm, it throws the air out by sudden jerks, and occasions a healthy concussion. This alone, says Kant, not what passes in the mind, is the true cause of the pleasure derived from a thought which in reality contains nothing; and he illustrates his point by certain stories, which made the philosopher laugh in obedience to his own principles, but which do not provoke all his readers to the same agreeable convulsions. Now everybody will go along with the demand for suddenness as one requisite for mirth. We all know how hard it is to laugh when laughter is led up to and expected of us; but a merry fellow, not used to analyze his emotions, naturally demurs to the inference that, when he laughs, he is prouder or vainer than his neighbor who never sees the point of a joke, while he is still less inclined to accept the theory that he is amused because his imagination receives an abrupt check. He believes himself to laugh simply because the joke is good. If he has any feeling of superiority over others, it is in what he vaguely calls his sense of the ludicrous. But a little inquiry will most likely show him that this sense of the ludicrous commonly means the enjoyment of some other person's ridiculous situation, or, at best, of some dilemma of his own from which, at the moment of self-ridicule, he is escaping or has escaped. In the same way, it is not obvious to the child who laughs immoderately at the sight of a slip, or a stumble, or any other small disconcerting mishap which befalls his betters, that he rolls and shakes with a sense of his own superiority. The fact is, he is enjoying a reversal of the usual state of things. He is uppermost; secure in his chair, he sees his friend fall between two stools, and finds the joke irresistible. So far there is something in the argument that laughter arises from the opinion of some pre-eminence in ourselves. All that can be said is, that it is not a recondite form of pride, and does not prove any settled self-conceit. We are vain rather of our fortune than of our merit, on the sudden electric perception of our own momentary distinction as compared with another's momentary degradation. A sustained deliberate pride would, for example, have rather prevented than encouraged that fit of laughter which has preserved to posterity the name of a certain Marquis of Blandford. He, being noted for laughing upon small provocation, was once convulsed for half an hour together on seeing somebody fillip a crumb into a blind fiddler's face, the fits returning whenever the "ludicrous idea" recurred to him. An habitual sense of superiority would have prevented this sudden glory at sight of a beggars's helplessness under insult.

The laughter of rustics and uneducated people, simple as it is, is perhaps more distinctly open to this charge of pride than that of the refined humorist or wit, because with them it is indissolubly and consciously associated with the idea of a butt. They do not know how to be merry without a victim; there must in every society be some one person to make sport for the rest. The notion is a primitive one, being as old as the days when the gods laughed with an inextinguishable laughter at Vulcan's limp; and, as in his case, the butt's weak point must be a very obvious one. Hence it is that idiots and demented persons are such a source of delight to street boys; positive drivelling imbecility sets off their own parts. And with all classes and ages it is a sure method of raising the mirth of a company to stimulate it consistently in one direction, and toward some acknowledged peculiarity, though the thing may be managed with more or less delicacy. For while it will be found that most laughter is at personalities, the "honest, natural, open laugh" of the unsophisticated fool is not more different from the "faint constrained half-laugh" of the wit than is the joke or pleasantry that calls forth these very dissimilar demonstrations. The fool roars at seeing his best friend in some awkward fix; the wit "smiles a little," or laughs in his sleeve

> Those nicer faults to find
> Which lie obscurely in the wisest mind.

There are personalities which lie so hid under a disguise that they are not readily known for such. The humorist and the cynic have each a knack of investing with human weaknesses things, animate and inanimate, in which plainer minds can see no analogy to human nature. We have known a man of quaint fancies laugh till the tears ran down at seeing a rat peep out of a hole. He caught a touch of humanity in the brute's perplexed air; he guessed at something behind the scenes impervious to our grosser vision. A bird, frumpish and disquieted on a rainy day, suggests to such a man some social image of discontent that makes capital fun for him. He can improve these lower creatures into caricatures of his friends, or of mankind at large. Mr. Formby owned himself unable to help "laughing out loud" in the presence of Egyptian antiquities, with the Memnon at their head; he laughed at an ancient civilization, at the men of the past personified by their works. Saturnine tempers can only laugh at imminent danger or positive calamity; mortal terror is the most ludicrous of all ideas to them. Mr. Trollope represents Lord de Courcy, who had not laughed for many a day, exploding at the notion of his neighbor earl having been all but tossed by a bull; and the joke would have been better still if the bull had had his will. This tendency is frequently to be seen with a defective sympathy, and we believe the things that make men laugh are an excellent clue at once to intellect and temper. Many a man does not betray the tiger that lurks within him till he laughs. Those who laugh ill-naturedly are sure to fail us, and to disappoint expectation on some serious occasion. The universal cause of laughter is incongruity, or oddness of some kind, suddenly apprehended; but the sort of incongruity that directly moves to mirth depends on a hundred qualities. Indirectly, the same joke touches the most opposite tempers; much of the laughter of the world is merely contagious; it spreads like an epidemic, and is nothing more than an agreeably hysterical affection. And this laughter, which owes least to any effort of the brain, is probably the most health-inspiring; at any rate, it inspires the proverb, "Laugh and grow fat."

But there is a laughter which comes, not from sympathy, nor yet from idea naturally provocative of mirth, but simply because the system requires it. There is much that starts from the diaphragm, and thence, like the fumes of Falstaff's sack, "ascends me into the brain." Things not ludicrous in our normal state are made ludicrous to supply a need. We are not speaking of that habitual trifling temper which turns everything into a joke, but of that physical rebellion against gloom and depression which watches, in spite of the man's self, for relief to the overwrought nerves. There are times when the body craves for laughter as it does for food. This is the laughter which, on some occasion or other, has betrayed us all into a scandalous, unseasonable, remorseful gaiety. After long abstinence from cheerful thought there are few occasions so sad and solemn as to render this inopportune revolt impossible, unless where grief absorbs the whole soul, and lowers the system to a uniformity of sadness. In fact, as no solemnity can be safe from incongruities, such occasions are not seldom the especial scene of these exposures—of explosions of a wild perverse hilarity taking the culprit at unawares; and this even while he is aghast at his flagrant insensibility to the demand of the hour. This is the laughter so often ascribed to Satanic influence. The nerves cannot forego the wonted stimulus, and are malignantly on the watch, as it were, to betray the higher faculties into this unseemly indulgence. Thus John and Charles Wesley, in the early days of their public career, set forth one particular day to sing hymns together in the fields; but, on uplifting the first stave, one of them was suddenly struck with a sense of something ludicrous in their errand, the other caught the infection, and both fell into convulsions of laughter, renewed on every attempt to carry out their first design, till they were fain to give up and own themselves for that time conquered by the Devil. There is a story of Dr. Johnson much to the same purpose. Naturally melancholy, he was yet a greater laugher, and thus was an especial victim to the possession we speak of, for no one laughs in depression who has not learnt to laugh in mirth. He was dining with his friend Chambers in the Temple, and at first betrayed so much physical suffering and mental dejection that his companion could not help boring him with remedies. By degrees he rallied, and with the rally came the need of a general reaction. At this point Chambers happened to say that a common friend had been with him that morning making his will. Johnson—or rather his nervous system—seized upon this as the required subject. He raised a ludicrous picture of the "testator" going about boasting of the fact of his will-making to anybody that would listen, down to the innkeeper on the road. Roaring with laughter, he trusted that Chambers had had the conscience not to describe the testator as of sound mind, hoped there was a legacy to himself, and concluded with saying that he would have the will set to verse and a ballad made out of it. Mr. Chambers, not at all relishing this pleasantry, got rid of his guest as soon as he could. But not so did Johnson get rid of his merriment; he rolled in convulsions till he got out of Temple Gate, and then, supporting himself against a post, sent forth peals so loud as, in the silence of the night, to be heard from Temple Bar to Fleet Ditch. We hear of stomach coughs; this was a stomach, or ganglionic, laugh.

The mistimed laughter of children has often some such source as this, though the sprite that possesses them has rarely the gnome-like essence. A healthy boy, after a certain length of constraint, is sometimes as little responsible for his laughter as the hypochondriac. Mrs. Beecher Stowe, in describing, and even defending, a Puritanical strictness of Sabbath observance, recalls the long family expositions and sermons which alternated in her youth with prolix meeting services, at all of which the younger members of the household were required to assist in profound stillness of attention. On one of these occasions, on a hot summer afternoon, a heedless grasshopper of enormous dimensions leapt on the sleeve of one of the boys. The tempting diversion was not to be resisted; he slily secured the animal, and imprisoned a hind leg between his firmly compressed lips. One by one, the youthful congregation became alive to the awkward contortions and futile struggles of the long-legged captive; they knew that to laugh was to be flogged, but after so many sermons the need was imperative, and they laughed, and were flogged accordingly. Different from all these types is the grand frank laugh that finds its place in history and biography, and belongs to master minds. Political and party feeling may raise, in stirring times, any amount of animosity, even in good-natured men; but once bring about a laugh between them, and an answering chord is struck, a tie is established not easily broken. Something of the old rancour is gone for ever. There is a story of Canning and Brougham, after hating and spiting one another through a session, finding themselves suddenly face to face in some remote district in Cumberland, with only a turnpike gate between them. The situation roused their magnanimity, simultaneously they broke into laughter, and passed each on his separate way, better friends from that time forth.

No honest laugher knows anything about his own laugh, which is fortunate, as it is apt to be the most grotesque part of a man, especially if he is anything of an original. Character, humor, oddity, all expatiate in it, and the features and voice have to accommodate themselves to the occasion as they can. There is Prince Hal's laugh, "till his face is like a wet cloak ill laid up;" there is the laugh we see in Dutch pictures, where every wrinkle of the old face seems to be in motion; there is the convulsive laugh, in which arms and legs join; there is the whinney, the ventral laugh, Dr. Johnson's laugh like a rhinoceros, Dominie Sampson's laugh lapsing without any intermediate stage into dead gravity, and the ideal social laugh—the delighted and delighting chuckle which ushers in a joke, and the cordial triumph laugh which sounds its praise. We say nothing of all the laughs—and how many there are!—which have no mirth in them; nor of the "ha, ha!" of melodrama, and the ringing laugh of the novel, as being each unfamilar to our waking ears. Whatever the laugh, if it be genuine and comes from decent people, it is as attractive as the Piper of Hamelin. It is impossible not to want to know what a hearty laugh is about. Some of the sparkle of life is near, and we long to share it. The gift of laughter is one of the compensating powers of the world. A nation that laughs is so far prosperous. It may not have material wealth, but it has the poetry of prosperity. When Lady Duff Gordon laments that she never hears a hearty laugh in Egypt, and when Mr. Palgrave, on the contrary, makes the Arabs proper a laughing people, we place Arabia, for this reason, higher among the countries than its old neighbor. And it is the same with homes. Wherever there is pleasant laughter, there inestimable memories are being stored up, and such free play given to nerve and brain that whatever thought and power the family circle is capable of will have a fair chance of due expansion.

A LETTER FROM THACKERAY.

[Recently published.]

Neufchatel, Switzerland, July 21, 1853.

My Dear Reed: Though I am rather slow in paying the tailor, I always pay him; and as with tailors, so with men; I pay my debts to my friends, only at rather a long day. Thank you for writing to me so kindly, you who have so much to do. I have only begun to work ten days since, and now, in consequence, have a little leisure. Before, since my return from the West, it was flying from London to Paris, and *vice versa*—dinners right and left—parties every night. If I had been in Philadelphia, I could scarcely have been more feasted. Oh, you unhappy Reed! I see you (after that little supper with McMichael) on Sunday, at your own table, when we had that good Sherry-Madeira, turning aside from the wine-cup with your pale face! That cup has gone down this well so often, that I wonder the cup isn't broken, and the well as well as it is.

Three weeks of London were more than enough for me, and I feel as if I had enough of it and pleasure. Then I remained a month with my parents; then I brought my girls on a little pleasuring tour. We spent ten days at Baden, when I set intrepidly to work again; and have been five days in Switzerland now; not bent on going up mountains, but on taking things easily. How beautiful it is! How great and affable, too, the landscape is! It's delightful to be in the midst of such scenes—the ideas get generous reflections from them. I don't mean to say my thoughts grow mountainous and enormous like the Alpine chain yonder—but, in fine, it is good to be in the presence of this noble nature. It is keeping good company; keeping away mean thoughts. I see in the papers now and again accounts of fine parties in London. *Bon Dieu!* Is it possible anyone ever wanted to go to fine London parties, and are there people now sweating in May-fair routs? The European Continent swarms with your people. They are not at all as polished as Chesterfield. I wish some of them spoke French a little better. I saw five of them at supper at Basle, the other night, with their knives down their throats. It was awful. My daughter saw it, and I was obliged to say: "My dear, your great-great grandmother, one of the finest ladies of the old school I ever saw, always applied cold steel to her victuals. It's no *crime* to eat with a knife," which is all very well; but I wish five of 'em at a time wouldn't. Will you please beg McMichael, when Mrs. Glyn, the English tragic actress, comes to read Shakespeare in your city, to call on her—do the act of kindness to her, and help her with his valuable editorial aid? I wish we were going to have another night soon, and that I was going this very evening to set you up with a headache against to-morrow morning. By Jove, how kind you all were to me! How I like people, and want to see 'em again! You are more tender-hearted, romantic, sentimental than we are. I keep on telling this to our fine people here, and have so belabored your—

[Here the paper was turned, and the sketch revealed. At the top is written, "Pardon this rubbishing picture; but I didn't see, and can't afford to write page 3 over again."]

your country with praise in private, that I sometimes think I go too far. I keep back some of the truth; but the great point to try and ding into the ears of the great, stupid, virtue-proud English public is, that there are folks as good as they in America. That's where Mrs. Stowe's book has done harm, by inflaming us with an idea of our own superior virtue in freeing our blacks, whereas you keep yours. Comparisons are always odorous, Mrs. Malaprop says.

I am about a new story, but don't know as yet if it will be any good. It seems to me I am too old for story-telling; but I want money, and shall get $20,000 for this, of which (D. V.) I'll keep fifteen. I wish this rubbish [the sketch] were away; I might put written rubbish in its stead. Not that I have anything to say, but that I always remember you and yours, and honest Mac, and Wharton, and Lewis, and kind fellows who have been kind to me, and I hope will be kind to me again. Good-bye, my dear Reed, and believe me, ever sincerely yours,

W. M. Thackeray.

COOKERY.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Intermittently, and mortifying to the flesh, do most American urban households observe the season of Ramadan—period of fasting—not as purification, but penance.

For the Kelts, who adorn our kitchens, and kindly tolerate us in our humbler spheres above stairs, are like poppies spread, or like the rainbow warm, or like the borealis race, or like the snowfall on the river, or like any other fleeting good which Mr. Burns forgot to mention, or the metre refused to admit.

In ante-war days the nomadic nature of cooks was the theme of jeremiads among housekeepers. But now we have fallen on evil times indeed. Those somethings, between a hinderance and a help, repeat the history of Gilpin's hat and wig, and we lose them sooner than before. For why? They are too big; which being Cowper, cannot be slang. When Mrs. Shoddy offers sixteen dollars a month, with two afternoons out, and the aid of a scullery girl, how shall Madame Cook stay with Mrs. Nicely, who pays but twelve—whose modest establishment comprises two servants, all told, and whose "privileges" are only Thursday afternoons, and every other Sunday?

The world laments, bitterly, but ignorantly. We being a philosopher, and observing the evil of what Miss Nipper designates as "temporaries," detect the cause, and know the cure. But we shall not tell it here, because we will not anticipate our great lecture, "From Chaos to Chemistry, a Claim of the Kitchen." (Terms, $50. Address the *Tribune*.) Our business is with the actual.

The fugacious cook having disappeared, Angelina, who plays the Adelaieda divinely, and translates Les Miserables, running as she reads, makes three frantic, and utterly futile attempts to get dinner. Edwin, returning hungry at night, finds his charmer weeping among her spoiled dishes, a new Marius above a culinary Carthage. He remembers shudderingly that the too sensitive Vatel, cook of the great Condé, killed himself because a dish was delayed. "Turn Angelina, ever dear!" he cries. But she can only beseech him to take his meals out, till the new cook comes, while *she* does "somehow."

To-morrow, stalks in the new sovereign. *Incessu patet dea.* Famine gives place to plenty, and the world is no longer hollow. But, in a brief fortnight, cook is three times found drunk under the cellar stairs. Ignominious expulsion follows, and desolation again pervades the kitchen.

So cooking becomes the bane of modern life, and the graceful and social service of the table is a many-headed monster, devouring the time, the hopes, the courage, the strength of our fair young wives, who give a hundred-fold too much to appease it, and yet, giving ignorantly, give nothing.

Our Concord sage laments the difficulty of making the stomach a gentleman. But is he not? "Look," he says, "with what patient and fine skill I issue supplies to my great household. The clear brain, which measures and weighs the atoms of the universe; the slender, electric fingers that ravish their deep secrets from the ivory keys, and diffuse them in musical flame; the flashing feet, the lithe limbs that utter the inarticulate passion and sadness, and mad gayety of the music; the elastic suppleness of the athlete, the splendid strength of the pugilist—*I* feed them—*I* keep them at their best, if you will but treat me with respect. I ask but a little carbon, a little hydrogen, a little nitrogen, much oxygen, and I remain, in the hope of a useful future, your very obedient, humble servant," concludes the stomach, after the manner of Wilkins Micawber.

There, then, is the reason and excuse of cooking. Dinner must be well devised and well prepared, or Emerson, and Gottschalk, and Mademoiselle Pepita, and Tom Sayers cease to be.

The American savages devoured half-cooked game and lumps of boiled dough of the consistency of a cannon ball, and their race disappeared before men who eat yeast bread and roast beef. The Greeks could serve a pig, roasted on one side, boiled on the other, and stuffed with spiced thrushes and ortolans, and Greece went down before the sturdy Slavi.

But surely between Aristoxenes, patrician and poetaster, wasting the rolling months in vain endeavors to cure hams which should be called Aristoxenians, and Angelina dissolved in tears because she cannot cook a steak, there is a golden mean of effort. And between the shining banquets of that elder Athenian day, when music, and sculpture, and painting, and dancing crowned the feast with all voluptuous and sensuous delight, and the bare table usage of the many moderns who hold the preparation and setting forth of meals to be a miserable bondage to the flesh, there is a happy medium of elegance which might woo poets and philosophers again to sing their gayest fancies, to utter their wisest aphorisms at the board where Aspasia, in hoops and flounces, dispenses tea, instead of flashing wine, and Sappho, kindled by the warmth and light, and quick electric atmosphere, inaudibly murmurs to herself the passionate song which will break on half a million ears in the next coming of the Atlantic.

If Rome had ever the charming secret, she lost it; and if Athens was finical and luxurious, the Seven-Hilled City grew gluttonous and sensual. Remember, Edwin, when you become unpleasant over the grocer's book and the butcher's bill—as is the nature of husbands in the third year after marriage, and thereafter, till the Last Great Account divorces them from all lesser ones—that there have been worse gastronomical blunders and extravagances. The kitchen expenditure of Vitellius, for instance, amounted in four months to the appreciable sum of twenty-five millions; and to prove the superiority of man over the brutes that perish, he composed a dish which cost him forty thousand dollars. It was largely compounded of nightingale's tongues. Whether, when the pie was opened, they all began to sing, isn't this a shameful dish to set before a king, history neglects to tell. Domitian, who, among other amiable eccentricities, used to cut off the head of any one having the shamelessness to disagree with him, as a thorough and satisfactory method of closing the argument, once summoned his Senators, at dead of night, to advise him as to the cooking of a turbot untimely arrived from Ischia. Congress and our Military Commissions would seem to have studied the precedent. Geta had twenty-six courses in his suppers, to make memorable the alphabet, and prove his devotion to the advancement of letters. Heliogabalus supped on the brains of six hundred thrushes; but he needed compensation for the sin of his sponsors in baptism. He supported the fatigues of dining by reclining on couches covered with cloth of gold, beneath scented lamps, in an atmosphere softened by the splashing of perfumed fountains.

The culinary utensils of these ascetics were of bronze, richly plated with silver. The saucepans of painted porcelain, and of silver. The kitchen floors were of costly marble, and the walls of rare woods, covered with pictures. The Empire fell into a mad worship of the palate, and the misused stomach saw all the members at war with it, and each other. The consequence was, that Alaric, the Visigoth, ran down from the North one Summer morning, and put Rome and all the Romans in his pocket.

After this, refined cookery suffered undeserved obloquy, and, with other persecuted fugitives, found the right of sanctuary only in the monasteries. Five centuries later, Italy sought out her neglected art, and enthroned it fitly in Milan, Genoa, and Florence, whence, in the splendid train of Catherine de Medici, it reached France, its shrine, its altar, and its home.

Columbus, brave of heart and tireless of purpose, opened a higher existence to cookery, and enriched it with materials. The East Indies brought "nutmeg and cinnamon, spices and cloves," with the result which the nursery rhyme still further discloses. The Crusaders, beside the hard knocks and doubtful morals which they brought back from their pilgrimage, bore also a knowledge of Oriental luxury, which they proceeded to naturalize. In the reign of Elizabeth the kitchens of the nobility were as lavish, if not as fine, as their Roman predecessors. The cooks were classical scholars, and queer mythological horrors perched on the board. The cook of Cardinal Wolsey "went daily in velvet, or in sattin, with a chaine of gould."

The sad-faced Puritan, rejecting every fashion of the reckless cavalier, disdained his dainty dishes wherein the devil was supposed to lurk, seeking an entrance into the ungodly. Bountiful New England, however, poured into the barns of his descendants such store of vegetable wealth, that the very instinct of economy pervading the breasts of the thrifty wives, made them cooks. Still the munificence of the teeming soil, the abundance of meats, made them careless of saving and unfruitful in expedients. Sarah, country bred, rosy of cheek and stout of muscle, might hope to become a tidy house-keeper, and to understand the routine of common cookery. But the higher mysteries, the exquisite chemistry which the cooking-stove evolves, the meaning of nitrogen, carbon, and hydrogen, which being organized call themselves roast-beef, and bread, and water, the need of brain, and nerve, and muscle—nothing of this she knows. Housework is a dreary affair to be plodded through as the penalty of Eve's transgression.

And, alas for Angelina, what chance has *she* to learn that the great forces of the earth are at work to spread her table, and that all the elves and midges, called gases and salts in the learned books, would spring to do her bidding if she but knew their serviceable zeal? She had no time before marriage. She had no teacher after. So Edwin and she, who sailed so gaily out on matrimonial seas in their painted shallop, toss miserably for a year or two, and find safe, though dreary, shelter at last in the anchorage of a boarding-house.

"They order these things better in France." Louis Fourteenth, establishing Versailles, and literary societies, and scientific bodies, and art associations, made fashionable the *petite cuisine*, which yet flourishes in immortal youth. Louis Fifteenth, degenerate great grandson and heir, dropped from his enervate right hand all the heaped-up splendors of conquest which his martial ancestor had crowded therein, but held close in his left the refined art of cookery. And France, to-day, over-crowded, only able to feed her swarming people by the most careful thrift, and the most ingenious devices, has the only theory and practice of that most comforting of systems, which deserves to be studied and followed. John Bull is liberal, gigantic, and coarse in his method. Jonathan has the best intentions, the most generous appliances, and no method whatever. Jean, with the narrowest means, spreads a banquet for the gods.

An airy Sybarite, it is related, tasting the black broth of the Lacedemonians, no longer wondered at the reckless bravery of the Spartans, who